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The Title page to this Volume
only is new - this included
the Table of Contents Book first published
in France entitled Abrégé
Chronologique de l'Histoire
de la Barbarie
Translated into English & printed
in 1757 under the title of
The Chronology of the Antient

Moreau, Jacob Nicholas comp.

THE

Myſtery Reveal'd;

OR,

TRUTH brought to LIGHT.

Being a Diſcovery of ſome Facts, in Relation to the Conduct of the late M———y, which however extraordinary they may appear, are yet ſupported by ſuch Teſtimonies of authentick Papers and Memoirs; as neither Confidence, can out-brave; nor Cunning invalidate.

By a PATRIOT.

Monſtrum Horrendum!

LONDON:

Printed for and ſold by *W. Cater*, oppoſite *Red Lion-ſtreet*, in *Holborn*: *R. Withy*, in *Cornhill*, and *T. Hope* behind the *Royal Exchange*, 1759.

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A

MEMORIAL &c.

BY the directions of his Britannick Majeſty a piece has been ſent to moſt of the courts of Europe, entitled *Obſervations* on the *Memorial of France*. The author undertakes to confute the motives on which the king has grounded his requiſition of the 21ſt. of laſt December, and to juſtify England's refuſal of making a reſtitution to France of her ſhips, taken in a time of profound peace.

In order to give a gloſs to a refuſal ſo contrary both to the equity, which is the common ſtandard of all nations, and the pacific views, which his Britannick Majeſty has given perpetual aſſurances he would never deviate from; it was neceſſary to charge France with hoſtilities prior to the making theſe prizes. In order to leſſen the impreſſion, which the violences committed in the courſe of this year by the Engliſh navy, muſt have made on all the powers of Europe, it was neceſſary to prove, or at leaſt to maintain, that the French were the aggreſſors. And indeed that is the principal fact inſiſted on in theſe *Obſervations*. In ſhort the author would fain prove that the French have

mitted ſuch hoſtilities in America, as obliged the court of London to make juſt repriſals.

To theſe imputations, France will oppoſe nothing, but the moſt ſimple expoſition of all that has paſſed between the two nations ſince the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, as well in America, as Europe. Sovereigns have for their judges the age they live in, and poſterity their character is to be aſcertained by hiſtory alone.

That the relation of ſo many important facts may be out of the reach of criticiſm, none ſhall be advanced that is not avowed by both courts, or ſupported by papers of undoubted authority and credit; thoſe which have been found in the book-caſe of general Braddock, after that battle, wherein he loſt his life, have laid open the plan of the court of London. The publication of the informations contained in theſe papers has not been reſolved on, till all poſſible means had been tried to ſave the Engliſh government, the mortification which muſt ariſe from a diſcovery of its Syſtem.

France by the treaty of Utrecht, yielded to England, New Scotland, or Acadia, according to its ancient limits, as alſo the town of Port-Royal. 'Tis very probable the Britiſh miniſters had at that time of Acadia, properly ſo called, nearly the ſame idea that they had always entertained in France of that country. Thus far however 'tis certain, that they had not then ſo much as dreamed of extending

ing this province to the ſouthern bank of the river St. Laurence.

And indeed the French who were ſettled on the river St. John; thoſe along the coaſt of the Etchemins; and from that coaſt to the river St. Laurence; even thoſe who inhabited the Minas; the borders of the Iſthmus, and the other Countries which are moſt contiguous to that yielded to Great-Britain; became ſenſible of no alteration in their ſtate or poſſeſſions. The Engliſh attempted neither to baniſh them the country, or compell them to ſwear fealty to the king of England. Theſe Inhabitants continued in the quiet poſſeſſion of their property, under the protection of the king, whom they never ceaſed to conſider as their lawful ſovereign.

From 1744 'till 1748. War was carried on in America in the ſame manner as in Europe; but it had no other object in that part of the world, than that which gave occaſion to the differences on the Old Continent: There was no queſtion then either of the limits of the reſpective ſtates, or of giving any interpretation to the treaty of Utrecht; the ſenſe of which being ſufficiently evident of itſelf, ſeemed ſtill fixed, and ſettled by the peaceful poſſeſſion of both nations. It was on this account eſteemed ſufficient to ſtipulate, by article V. of the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, the reſtitution of all that might have been conquered by one nation over the other, ſince

the beginning of the war. There was no reference made to the treaty of Utrecht; and by article IX. it was agreed that all things ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, on the ſame footing that they had been, or ought to have been on, (not in 1713) but before the preſent war.

Immediately after this peace, the court of London formed the plan of ſeveral new ſettlements, in which it paid more regard to its commercial intereſts, than to the clauſes of the treaties, of which that of Aix-la Chapelle had been a renewal. Notice was given of theſe ſettlements by the channel of all the news-papers. It was then plain England intended to extend to the river St. Laurence, thoſe which were to be made in Acadia, and no limits were aſſigned to thoſe which were to take place towards Hudſon's Bay.

The eclat of theſe preparations, and the importance of the project, of which they were the fore-runners, awaked the king's attention. He ſet forth his rights in a memorial, which he cauſed to be given into the court of London, in the month of June 1749, and propoſed the appointment of commiſſaries from both nations, who were to ſettle in an amicable manner the limits of the reſpective colonies. This propoſal was accepted; and in the memorial of July 1749, by which the king of Great-Britain agreed to the nomination of thoſe commiſſaries, his majeſty declared, 1°. "That no ſuch thing was intended as a

"project

" project towards Hudſon's Bay. 2°. That he " had given effectual orders that no attempt " ſhould be made, either on the ſide of " Nova Scotia, or that of Hudſon's Bay, on " the poſſeſſions, or the trade of his moſt " chriſtian majeſty's ſubjects. 3°. That he had " given no orders to make ſettlements in " that part of Nova Scotia, to which France " had formed pretentions".

The Settlement of Hallifax, then in agitation in England, ſeemed in ſome ſort to be a pledge of the ſincerity of this declaration. Supplies which ſeemed deſigned only for this infant colony, were not of ſuch a nature as to alarm the French government. The town is built on the coaſt of Acadia, at the mouth of Chedabucto Bay.

One of the principal ſtipulations agreed to on the nomination of commiſſaries, was that no innovation ſhould be attempted on the countries, the fate of which was to be finally determined by their ſentence. This convention was a conſequence of the declaration made in the court of London's memorial. Thus did the French remain in poſſeſſion of all the lands which they had held without interruption ſince the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle; as well between Bay Francoiſe, and the river St. Laurence, as in the Peninſula itſelf; from the Minas to the Iſthmus, and from the Iſthmus to the bay of Chedabucto. As to the Banks of the Ohio, and the countries ſituated to the weſt

weſt of the apalachian mountains; the Engliſh never had either forts or factories in thoſe places, nor had the court of London formed even a project of any ſettlement on that ſide; nor was there the leaſt mention made of this country, either in the negociations which had preceded the treaty of Utrecht, or in thoſe which had given occaſion to the peace of Aix-la Chapelle.

From the ſettling this commiſſion, and the mutual engagements which had preceded, it was imagined that the court of London would iſſue to the governors of the Engliſh colonies in America, ſuch orders as were agreeable to the ſtipulations made in Europe: It was of the greateſt conſequence to the tranquility of both nations, to put an early ſtop to theſe petty deſſentions, which in time might give riſe to differences of a more ſerious nature. We ſhall here take a ſhort view of the diſputes, which had preceded the appointment of commiſſaries. M. Maſcarens, an Engliſh commander wanted to compel the French Inhabitants of the River St. John, to ſwear fealty to the king of England. Theſe people intimidated by menaces, made applications to the count de la Galiſſoniere, who in order to remove their fears, ſent an officer with a ſmall detachment of ſoldiers, and of the milicians of Canada. M. de la Galiſſoniere, had after that not only complained by letter to Mr. Maſcarens of this attempt; but alſo endeavoured

deavoured to prevail on him to ſuſpend the hoſtilities, which the Engliſh had not ceaſed to commit againſt the Abnakies; notwithſtanding theſe had by the orders of the French, (their allies) laid down their arms on the immediate news of the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle. Theſe complaints had given occaſion to a ſeries of letters, wrote in a pretty warm ſtile, and which paſſed mutually between the marquis de la Jonquiere, and M. Cornwallis: The firſt having ſucceeded the Count de la Galiſſoniere, and the ſecond Mr. Maſcarens, in 1749. An end was ſuppoſed to have been put to theſe altercations, by the orders which the court of London affirmed to have ſent to the governors of the Engliſh colonies, in conſequence of the appointment of commiſſaries.

They had already begun their ſittings, when general Cornwallis thought himſelf now in ſuch a condition, as he need not obſerve any meaſures. He had received from England freſh ſupplies of troops, ſettlers, ammunition, and artillery; and in conſequence he made freſh efforts to expel the French from a country, on which according to the aſſurance of his Britannick Majeſty, no attempt was to be made till the commiſſaries came to a deciſion.

The firſt acts of violence were directed againſt the king's ſubjects, who are ſettled on the northern coaſts of the Peninſula. The Engliſh commander's view was to compel them to withdraw, in order to make room for

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the new ſettlers; moſt of the French families were forced to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, to evacuate the Peninſula, and to ſeek refuge in other parts of New France.

Encouraged by this Succeſs, Mr. Cornwallis thought proper to exert himſelf in the ſame manner againſt the French, who were ſettled out of the Peninſula, on the rivers which diſembogue as well into the bottom of the bay of Fundi, as the gulph of St. Laurence. Theſe People being thus perpetually expoſed to the worſt uſage, and having experienced injuſtices and outrages without number, agreed to demand of marquis de la Jonquiere, that Protection which his majeſty owes all his ſubjects. The marquis ſent them a ſmall detachment of troops and militia-men, under the command of an officer, to whom he gave the moſt preciſe orders, to attempt nothing againſt the Engliſh, and to confine himſelf ſolely to the preventing them from making any ſettlement on the lands, of which France was in poſſeſſion; and above all that he ſhould not himſelf make any fortification of any ſort on them. The marquis de la Jonquiere did more; for he had the attention to give previous notice to Mr. Cornwallis of this ſtep, the motives which forced him to it, and the orders given to the detachment.

The laſt complained of this conduct as an infringement; but the orders of the governor of New France having been ſtrictly obeyed, this

this diſpute was attended at that time with no bad conſequence.*

Two other objects gave occaſion in a little time after to mutual complaints, in which the two courts thought themſelves more particularly concerned.

Mr. Cornwallis complained of the cruelty with which the Abnakie ſavages uſed the Engliſh, who fell into their hands; he aſcribed this uſage to the ſuggeſtions of the French, and to the orders of the marquis de la Jonquiere. The latter cleared himſelf fully from the charge; and it may be ſaid with truth, that the Abnakies had followed in this conduct only the impulſe of their own reſentment: It was at the French governor's requeſt, that after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, they had ceaſed all kind of hoſtilities; but the Engliſh would never condeſcend to conſider them, as comprehended in the general pacification, and had perſevered in their perſecutions againſt them. Thus enraged, theſe Savages had avenged their own injuries; and the marquis de la Jonquiere, ſo far from giving them aſſiſtance, uſed his beſt efforts to appeaſe their Wrath. The court of London appeared ſatisfied with the explanations given on this occaſion, and thus this affair ended.

The object of the other was of greater importance, and might have been attended with

* See original Papers, No. 2.

worſe conſequences. The Engliſh for ſome months uſed to intercept all the French veſſels which brought proviſions from Quebec: Which proviſions were deſigned for the ſubſiſting the poſts ſituated on the frontiers of Canada, or were ſent as preſents, agreeable to annual cuſtom, to the Indian-allies of France. Thus a veſſel from Quebec called the London, which was returning empty, after having unloaded a cargo of proviſions at Chedaic, was taken;* and in ſome time after they attacked, and took at the mouth of Baie Francoiſe, the king's Brigantine, called the St. Francis, commanded by an officer bearing his majeſty's commiſſion, and which ſerved as a convoy to a veſſel † laden with proviſion and ammunition for the uſe of the detachments on John's River. The taking theſe veſſels, and the rifling of ſome others, gave occaſion to complaints, which were at that time addreſſed to the court of London; but as no ſatisfaction enſued, the marquis de la Jonquiere fancied himſelf entitled to make repriſals, and in conſequence ordered three or four Engliſh veſſels to be ſeized on at Iſle Royal, which were confiſcated.

Theſe hoſtilities at ſea, in which 'tis obſervable the Engliſh were always the aggreſſors, were accompanied with ſeveral attempts which they made on the countries,

* See original Papers, No. 3. † Goelette.

in

in which it was agreed no innovation ſhould be made. In the month of April 1750, general Cornwallis, entruſted major Lawrence with an expedition, againſt the poſts occupied by the French on the Continent, commanded by the chevalier de Lacorne. What the object of this armament was, may be learned from the Gazette of Boſton, in New England, wherein it was inſerted and repreſented as an act of hoſtility on the part of this governor; nay, it was alſo in this manner they expreſſed themſelves in the letters printed in London, in the month of Auguſt of the ſame Year. General Cornwallis was not content with having given theſe orders: Having firſt erected a fort at the Minas, he propoſed to put himſelf at the head of a body of forces, which were to penetrate into the heart of the Continent; and to make ſure work of it, he cauſed a conſiderable fortreſs to be erected at a place called Chinecto, or Beaubaſſin, ſituated in the Iſthmus, and at the upper end of the Baie Francoiſe. Theſe places were certainly of the number of thoſe, the property of which was to be ſettled by the commiſſaries.

The French commandants, in order to protect the countries which they were in poſſeſſion of againſt an invaſion, of which they had ſuch plain intimations, could not now diſpenſe with erecting in their turn two ſmall forts, the one facing Beaubaſſin, at a

place called Beau-Sejour, the other at Gaſpereau, on Bay-verte, as a magazine for the firſt, and to ſecure ſupplies by the gulph of St. Lawrence.

What had paſſed at the time of building the fort of Beaubaſſin proved ſufficiently the neceſſity of erecting theſe two forts, which were calculated to ſerve as a bulwark to the Continent. For general Cornwallis, had cauſed troops, and ſome artillery to march againſt the inhabitants of the Iſthmus, who were ſo terrified by this procedure, that they ran away, having firſt of all ſet fire to their habitations; and what is the more remarkable in all this is, that the Engliſh general who reduced both French and Savages to this cruel dilemma, had the aſſurance to complain of this flight, which he treated as an act of hoſtility on their ſide: A new kind of hoſtility indeed, that! Which, as we ſee, conſiſts in a man's leaving his country* open to the invaſion of a foreign power! And indeed, the complaints of Mr. Cornwallis, ſerved only to bring about an eclairciſſement, which ought to have convinced the king of England of the regularity of the proceedings of France, and how ſincere ſhe was in her deſires to preſerve peace.

The conſequence of this eclairciſſement was a formal declaration, by which his Britannick Majeſty cauſed the king to be aſſured, that

* See original Papers, No. 4.

freſh

freſh orders had been ſent to prevent any enterpriſe.

The king, on his part, repeated thoſe he had already given to the marquis de la Jonquiere.

Whether it was owing to the meaſures taken by the court of England to prevent general Cornwallis from proceeding any farther; or to the vigilance of the marquis de la Jonquiere, in cautioning againſt ſurpriſes; 'tis certain the Engliſh forbore making any further attempts on that ſide: They maintained themſelves in their forts of the Minas, and Beaubaſſin. The French remained quiet in thoſe of Beau-Sejour, and Gaſpereau; ſo that from 1751, till the expedition of 1755, of which an account ſhall be given hereafter, this part of New France had received no moleſtation from the vicinity of the Engliſh; nay, good harmony ſeemed to be ſo thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed between them, that in order to put a ſtop to the frequent deſertions on the frontiere, the marquis du Queſne, ſucceſſor of the marquis de la Jonquiere, and Mr. Hopſon, who ſucceeded Mr. Cornwallis, had agreed on a cartel, which was very punctually obſerved from 1752, till laſt year.

But tho' the tranquility was happily re-eſtabliſhed in Acadia, yet encroachments and hoſtilities were multiplied on another ſide, on which equally depended the preſervation of Canada. To clear up the origin, and fix the epoch of theſe troubles, it will be neceſſary

To trace things ſomewhat farther back than the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

The Ohio, otherwiſe called Belle-Riviere, or the Fair River, forms a natural communication between Canada, and the Louiſiana, by the Lake Eric. The French who were concerned in the diſcovery, and the maintaining this communication, were the firſt who ſurveyed this river, of which the ſieur de la Salle, a gentleman of Normandy, had viſited a part in 1679. In 1712, the king, in the letters-patent for the ſettlement of Louiſiana, comprehended the river Wabache, which diſcharges itſelf into the Ohio; and in general all the rivers which fall into the Miſſiſſippi. Since that time, the Ohio had been frequented by the French only; and the Engliſh never laid claim to the countries which it runs through. The Apalachian mountains had always been conſidered as the boundaries of their colonies.

The Engliſh miniſtry, who never miſſed an opportunity of diſtreſſing the trade of France, envied her for a long time this communication which ſhe ſtood ſo much in need of. In 1749, ſome Engliſh traders began to carry on a contraband trade on the Ohio, and it was diſcovered that they were tampering with the Indians, in order to induce them to a war with France. The count de la Galiſſoniere diſpatched from Canada to theſe parts the ſieur Celoron, an officer of Canada, with directions

rections to uſe no violence towards theſe foreign traders; but to content himſelf with ſummoning them to withdraw, and to ſeize their goods, in caſe they perſiſted in ſtaying.

This ſummons, which was the only ſtep that was taken, was attended with all the effect which could have been expected from it. The Engliſh traders were obliged to ſheer off, and duly cautioned againſt returning any more.

Nay the ſieur Celoron charged them with a letter to the governor of Penſylvania, whoſe licences were ſhewn by ſome of theſe traders. He informed him by this letter of what had paſſed, and deſired, not only that he would grant no ſuch permiſſion for the future, but that he would alſo take care that none of the Engliſh of his government ſhould continue to carry on this contraband trade on the king's territories.

The ſieur Celoron had no ſooner left the Ohio, than the Engliſh traders returned in ſhoals: They had orders from the government to prevail on the Savages, to take up arms againſt France. They brought them even arms, and ammunition. In 1750, the marquis de la Jonquiere was under a neceſſity of ſending a ſecond time ſeveral detachments, ſtill with orders to uſe no violence towards the Engliſh, and to awe the rebel-Savages. Even theſe were dealt with tenderly; however, in order to prevent the progreſs of the

ſmuggling,

ſmuggling buſineſs, it was judged proper to ſeize four Engliſh traders, who continued ſmuggling, in defiance of the prohibition, and who beſides had given ſtrong ſuſpicion of having laboured to bring the ſavages to a revolt. They were conducted to Quebec, where they were examined by the marquis de la Jonquiere himſelf, and from their depoſitions, * he had reaſon to be convinced of the certainty of his advices. It was proved, that the governor of Penſylvania had cauſed the Savages to be ſupplied with arms, ammunition, and other preſents, in order to their declaring war. The marquis de la Jonquiere heſitated no longer ſending theſe four Engliſhmen to France. They remained for ſome time priſoners at Rochelle. The lord Albemarle, then ambaſſador from England, whoſe protection they claimed, ſued for their liberty, without the leaſt complaint of the cauſe for which they were deprived thereof. The king ordered them to be enlarged, and even that they ſhould have ſome money. Lord Albemarle, returned his thanks to the miniſter of the marine, as for a favour that had been conferred on him perſonally.

The moderation which the French laid themſelves down as an invariable rule for their conduct, ſerved to render the Savages of the Ohio more audacious. In a little time there

* See original Papers No. 5.

was

was reaſon to apprehend, that theſe people, to whom the Engliſh had promiſed aſſiſtances of every kind, would enter into a general conſpiracy. Notwithſtanding, the marquis de la Jonquiere went no farther in 1751, than he did in 1750. However, the detachments he had ſent perceived a very extraordinary fermentation, the effects of which it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to prevent ſpeedily. The governor of Canada, being convinced that the colony was threatned with an invaſion from theſe Savages, was preparing to march a more conſiderable body of troops, in order to awe them, but he died in March 1752.

The marquis du Queſne, his ſucceſſor, arrived at Quebec, a few months after, he found the colony under the greateſt apprehenſions; he haſtened therefore to take up the project of the marquis de la Jonquiere; but the march of the detachment being retarded by different circumſtances, all that the ſieur de St. Pierre, by whom it was commanded, could do, was, to erect himſelf, at a ſmall diſtance from the Lake Eric, a poſt, where he ſpent the winter, from 1753 to 1754.

Here he was very quiet in the month of October 1753, when he received a letter from the governor of Virginia, requiring him to withdraw. He contented himſelf with anſwering, that he was on French ground: and by orders of his general, to whom he was going

to communicate this ſummons;* as for the reſt, he ſhewed the greateſt politeneſs to the officer, who was the bearer of this letter.

At the ſame time that the marquis du Queſne was informed of this ſtep of the governor of Virginia, he received from all parts advices of the preparations making in the Engliſh colonies, to act offenſively againſt the French, on pretence of aſſiſting the Savages: That theſe preparations were avowed by the court of London, appears from their having been publiſhed in all the Engliſh Gazettes of that time, in which were printed the very ſpeeches, by which the governors of New England and Virginia laboured to prevail on the Savages, to wage war with France.

The Engliſh had alſo paſſed already the Apalachian Mountains, and were marching in a body with artillery, when in the ſpring of the year 1754, the ſieur de Contre-Cœur, who had taken upon himſelf the command of the detachment, before under the orders of the ſieur de St. Pierre, drew near the Ohio, with five or ſix hundred men. He found the Engliſh already intrenched at a ſmall fort, which they had juſt thrown up between this river and the river Aux-Bœufs, or Beefs-River. They were to the number of

* The governor's letter, and the anſwer to the ſieur de St. Pierre, were at that time inſerted in the London papers.

fifty

fifty men, under the command of captain Trent; † they were ſummoned to withdraw from the French territories. The ſummons was complied with, the fort was quietly evacuated, and they even prayed the ſieur de Contre-Cœur, to let them have ſome proviſions, which they wanted: He cauſed them to be provided abundantly, and deſtroyed the fort.

As he continued his rout along the river from this place, he met on the banks with the traces of a fort, the conſtruction of which was projected by the Engliſh, but was abandoned by them undoubtedly upon receiving intimation of his approach. He remained in this place himſelf, and fortified it. The entrenchments of this fortification, to which was given the name of fort du Queſne, were not yet finiſhed, when the ſieur de Contre-Cœur received advices of a conſiderable body of troops being on their march towards him. Upon which he charged the ſieur de Jumonville with a ſummons in writing, by way of letter, addreſſed to the firſt Engliſh commander he ſhould meet. This letter was wrote the 23d. of May 1754, and was nearly to the ſame purpoſe with the ſummons, formerly ſent to captain Trent. It carried

† See original papers, No. 6. * See original papers, No. 7.

aſſurances to the Engliſh, that no violence ſhould be offered them; and moreover, the Engliſh commander was deſired to deliver his anſwer to the ſieur de Jumonville, and to uſe that officer with due diſtinction and regard.

This deputy ſet out with an eſcort of thirty men, and ſo ſoon as the next morning, he found himſelf ſurrounded by a troop compoſed of Engliſh and Savages; the firſt diſcharged immediately two vollies, by which ſome ſoldiers were killed. The ſieur de Jumonville made a ſignal, giving to underſtand, that he was bearer of a letter from his commander. Upon which, the fire ceaſed: A circle was immediately made round the officer, to hear what he had to ſay. He ordered the ſummons to be read, and before the man had done reading, he was himſelf murdered by the Engliſh. The remaining part of the French, who formed his eſcort, were immediately made priſoners of war; the only one who eſcaped, in giving an account to the ſieur de Contre-Cœur of the circumſtances of this affair, aſſured him, that the Savages, who were in company with the Engliſh, had not fired, and that even at the very time that M. de Jumonville was murdered, they had thrown themſelves in between the French and their enemies.

This murder wrought on the minds of the Savages in a different manner from what major Waſhington himſelf, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, expected. Even thoſe who

who by the ſuggeſtions of the Engliſh were moſt animated againſt the French, offered upon this occaſion to take vengeance for this crime.

The marquis du Queſne refuſed to accept the offers of a nation, always cruel in their vengeance. He made at firſt no doubt but that the Engliſh would diſown the violence, and would charge it to the ferocious diſpoſition of ſome traders; but ſince it was made appear, that nothing was done but by the orders of the governors of the Engliſh colonies.* Major Waſhington's journal can be produced in the original; where it appears, that he acted only by virtue of the preciſe orders he had received. From this it is plain, that to attack the French where-ever they were to be found was a meaſure at that very time reſolved on.

The ſieur de Contre-Cœur, having received no ſatisfaction from the Engliſh, and being furniſhed with the marquis du Queſne's Inſtructions, applied himſelf to find out the place where the aſſaſſins had retired to. He was imformed, that major Waſhington was with his detachment in a ſmall fort, which the Engliſh had built, and was by them called the fort of Neceſſity, where they waited the arrival of a freſh ſupply of troops, deſigned for the attack of fort du Queſne. He therefore ſent out a detachment, in order to take,

* See original Papers, No. viii.

if

if poſſible, the French priſoners; or at leaſt to compel the Engliſh to withdraw from the French territories. The ſieur de Villiers, brother to Jumonville, was charged with the execution of the commiſſion, and this was the ſole purport of the inſtructions which were given him. It was even expreſly recommended to him, to offer no violence, if the Engliſh would think proper to retire.

He ſet out the 28th of June, from fort du Queſne, and after having paſſed through the place where the murder had been committed, and where the bodies of the French were ſtill to be ſeen, he arrived the 3d. of July within ſight of the fort of Neceſſity. The Engliſh, who had ſallied out, returned in again after they had made their diſcharge. The fort was immediately inveſted and attacked. The fire was very hot, but the ſieur de Villiers cauſed it to ceaſe towards eight o'clock in the evening, in order to propoſe to the Engliſh, that they would avoid an aſſault, which muſt have expoſed them, in ſpite of the French themſelves, to the cruel treatment of the Savages.

His propoſal was accepted, and the capitulation drawn. The French would make no priſoners, becauſe they did not conſider themſelves as at War. They contented themſelves with inſiſting on thoſe men being returned them, who had been part of the eſcort of the ſieur de Jumonville. Major Waſhington engaged himſelf to ſend them back to fort du Queſne,

Queſne, and gave hoſtages, as pledges of the performance of his promiſe. As to the Engliſh, they had leave to march out with one piece of cannon,* and all their effects. They themſelves acknowledged, by the firſt article of this capitulation, that the French had no other deſign than to avenge the murder of a French officer, who was the bearer of a meſſage.

The fort, being evacuated in conſequence of this capitulation, was deſtroyed by the French; who returned, with their two hoſtages, to fort du Queſne.

However, this convention, to which ſeven or eight hundred men owed their preſervation, remained unexecuted on the part of the Engliſh; never did the priſoners return to fort du Queſne; out of twenty two, which was their number, ſeven have been ſent to England, where they arrived ſeverally after having experienced the moſt ſhocking treatment; here they implored the aſſiſtance of the duke of Mirepoix, who ſent them to France at the king's expence; as to the others, their fate is ſtill a miſtery; 'tis poſſible alſo, the detention of theſe priſoners might have been a conſequence of Engliſh fineſſe. The French, had they been returned, would not have failed ſending immediately back the hoſtages; but theſe perſons were all the time labouring in their vocation; and their ſtay at fort du Queſne

* See original Papers, No. 9.

Engliſh,

was productive of too great advantages to the Engliſh, for them to think ſeriouſly of their removal.

The hoſtages, whoſe names were Jacob d'Ambraan, and Robert Stobo, were a couple of very expert and finiſhed ſpies, who contrived a method to keep up a regular correſpondence with the Engliſh generals. Among the papers, which came into the poſſeſſion of the French, after the battle of the 9th of July 1755, were the letters which Robert Stobo, one of the hoſtages, wrote to major Waſhington. That of the 28th of July, to which is annexed an exact plan of fort du Queſne, of his own drawing, is very well worth reading;† a very juſt account is therein given by this ſpy of the ſituation in which the French were at that time, their number, and their ſtrength. He points out the very moment in which the Engliſh might form an attack on the fort, and the moſt certain method they could take to become maſters of it; but what is moſt ſingularly obſervable in this letter, is the teſtimony which this man, tho' burſting with rage againſt the French, was forced to give of their pacific diſpoſitions.

The Engliſh were very far from entertaining ſuch ſentiments; major Waſhington formed no more enterpriſes, but it was becauſe he was not ſufficiently ſtrong; however, from

† See original Papers, No. 10.

their

that very time, all the forces of the Engliſh colonies were in motion, in order to execute their plan of a general invaſion of Canada. This plan was drawn up, and ſettled in London, at a time, when the Engliſh commiſſaries of Paris, ſeemed very buſy in their endeavours to concur with thoſe of the king, in a plan of reconciliation.

The facts which we are going to relate, deſerve the moſt ſerious attention, we publiſh them with reluctance, but our concern for truth, makes ſuch a ſtep unavoidable: moreover, it is become neceſſary, that Europe now threatened with a bloody war, be made acquainted, at laſt, with the true authors of a rupture, the conſequence of which, cannot be otherwiſe than fatal.

So early as the 28th of Auguſt, 1753, the king of England had ſent to the different governors of the Engliſh colonies, orders relative to the manner in which they were to behave themſelves towards the French. As theſe orders cannot be produced, there is no judging of their contents, but, by the conduct of the Engliſh in their conſequence.

All we can can collect towards clearing up this dark affair, from his Britannick majeſty's inſtructions, found among the papers of general Braddock, is, that this prince exhorts the governors to act in concert, in order, to car-

ly into execution, a ſettled and deliberate ſcheme.

The 3d of July, 1754, new orders were iſſued by his Britannick majeſty; who, in order to their execution, cauſed a remittance of 10,000 l. ſterling, to be ſent to the governor of Virginia, and leave to draw upon England for 10,000 l. more.

The 25th and 26th of October, 1754, and the 4th of November, of the ſame year, the king of England, ſent new letters to the governors of the Engliſh colonies, containing plans of military operations: this appears from one of general Braddocks inſtructions, in which he is authoriſed to call for theſe letters, and to act accordingly *.

All theſe ſteps could not be taken, in conſequence of the diſputes which had happened on the Ohio, inaſmuch as it was impoſſible to have had, at that time, any knowledge of them in London.

Here then, we ſee a plan formed, and operations directed by authority; but of what nature were theſe operations? This is the important point, we are now to proceed to examine into?

In the month of September, 1754, colonel Braddock was appointed by his Britannick majeſty, generaliſſimo of all the troops which

* See original Papers, No. xi.

were

were in, or to be ſent to North-America. Theſe embarkations, which alarmed France, were then preparing in Ireland. We ſhall ſee by and by, if theſe ſigns of diffidence were not well founded.

Commodore Keppel was appointed to command the fleet, intended to favour the operations by land, and when the veſſels were ready for ſailing, the king of England cauſed to be drawn up, an inſtruction, addreſſed to general Braddock, conſiſting of thirteen articles. This he ſigned at St. James's, the 25th of November.

As this inſtruction refers to the orders previouſly given to the governors of the Engliſh colonies, it does not deſcend to a circumſtantial detail of the operations with which this general was intruſted: however it appears from the tenor of it, that he was charged with the execution of aplan, in doing which he was to act in concert not only with Mr. Keppel, but alſo with the governors of the colonies: and moreover, that this plan contained a ſeries of military expeditions of which he was to give an account to the miniſter, whoſe province it was to ſend him from time to time orders that were of a more ample nature.

The Duke of C———d, to whom in all likelihood, his Britannick majeſty had left the care of arranging the different parts of the general plan, ordered inſtructions of a

more particular nature to be addreſſed to general Braddock: theſe inſtructions are contained in a long letter written to him in his royal highneſs's name by colonel Nappier, and which was dated the ſame day, being the 25th of November 1754; this letter, well worth attending to, preſents us with a regular diſpoſition of all the military operations which had been long before concerted at the court of London; our ſaying, *long before* will not appear extraordinary to whoever will conſider, that colonel Nappier ſets out with recalling to general Braddock's mind, who was then in Ireland, that the inſtructions which he was going to commit to paper, are but the reſult of thoſe which his royal highneſs had given to that general in his ſeveral conferences and converſations with him.

We ſhall not here deſcend into particulars with regard to the contents of this inſtruction: it reflects more honour on the genius of the general, than it does on the intentions of the prince, in whoſe name it is wrote. It appears from this authentic piece, that a reſolution of a general invaſion of Canada was moſt certainly taken ſo early as the month of November 1754, and very probably ſeveral months before; and that the means of ſecuring its ſucceſs were determined on, and preſcribed to the ſeveral commanders, whoſe combined operations

operations were all to be directed to the ſame end. It appears, that general Braddock was to take fort Du Queſne, thence he was to move further to Niagara, which he was likewiſe to make himſelf maſter of; that Crown Point was to be attacked and carried by the nationals; laſtly, that colonel Lawrence was to poſſeſs himſelf of the fort of Beau Sejour in the Iſthmus, and that all theſe operations were to be ſeconded and favoured by the motions of the fleet. The conquered provinces were then to be protected by ſome forts which was reſolved, were to be erected, and the troops, after a campaign, (the operations of which were ſo well linked,) were to be cantoned in places where they could readily join and aſſiſt each other undoubtedly in executing the remaining part of the general plan, and thoſe orders of a more ample nature which the General was made to expect. While the Britiſh M——y laboured at nothing more than impoſing on the court of France, by negociating in the ſtrongeſt manner, their deſire of preſerving the peace. General Braddock in concert with admiral Keppel, colonel Shirley, and the governors of the Engliſh colonies were exerting themſelves in America in warlike preparations. The account which we are going to give of his operations has been taken from the very letters of this general. Theſe letters and the memorials, which, during

ring that time, were delivered to the French ambaſſador at London, and of which no notice will be taken till we have done with what was tranſacted in America from the arrival of general Braddock, exhibit a contraſt of a very extraordinary nature

This general landed at Williamſburg, capital of Virginia, in the month of February 1755†. All the governors of the Engliſh provinces had received their orders before. The chief orders related to the raiſing of troops and money; a common fund was to be aſſigned towards the expence of a campaign of this importance; as for the reſt, they were directed to execute the general's orders, whoſe military talents deſerved to be employed in a better cauſe.

At Williamſburgh, he met ſir John St. Clair, by whom he was informed of the diſpoſition of the colonies, and the ſituation of the troops. The independent companies of New-York, were in a very ſorry condition. And, as to the provinces, thoſe of Penſylvania and Maryland, were ſtill very backward in furniſhing their contingents: theſe provinces had received no cauſe of complaint from their French neighbours; and they were not inclined to break a harmony beneficial to their own trade. The orders of the Britiſh court,

† See original Papers, No. 13.

and

and the letters, which the general wrote on his arrival, met with more ſucceſs among the other colonies. This gentleman, with a view to accelerate the money ſupplies, promiſed the ſeveral colonies to be perſonally accountable to them for the employment of them. M. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, had already ſucceeded, in raiſing 20,000 l. ſterling; his example raiſed the emulation of the other governors. The aſſemblies of the colonies were ordered to meet the May following.

General Braddock appointed Alexandria to be the place of rendezvous for the troops of Virginia, and Maryland; and, inſtead of cautioning thoſe he had brought with him from Europe, agreeable to his firſt deſign, he directed the tranſports to go up the river Potomac, and to land them at Alexandria, where they were to encamp *.

He took care at the ſame time, that there ſhould be poſts at proper places, in order to keep up a ſafe correſpondence between the army, and the towns of Philadelphia, Annapolis in Maryland, and Williamſburgh: but, as there was no forage to be had on the other ſide of the mountains, before the end of April, the commencement of the attack was poſtponed till then.

No time was miſpent in the interim. The generals firſt ſtep was to lock up all the har-

* See original Papers. No. 13.

bours,

bours, 'So as, ſays he, 'no proviſions could poſ-
'ſibly come to the enemy †,' to this advantage was ſuperadded, that of ſecrecy, which was obſerved the whole time of recruiting, while the artillery was providing, and magazines prepared, ſtocked with all kinds of neceſſary ſtores. General Braddock, and Commodore Keppel communicated conſtantly to each other, their views and their projects. Some pieces of cannon, of which the land army had not a ſufficient number, were ſupplied by the latter; and, theſe two ſo neceſſary men, never diſagreed, but in one ſingle article, viz. The manner in which the French, who they were almoſt ſure, would fall into their hands, were to be uſed. The orders of the king of England, had been to embark them all, and tranſport them to France. M. Keppel, who was informed of this reſolution, only by general Braddock, was of opinion, the enterprize was of too delicate a nature for him to be concerned in. This excepted, the directions of the court were extremely well complied with; but, the real intent of the nation was doubtful. Commodore Keppel would gladly have it in his power to juſtify himſelf to the nation, in caſe it ſhould diſapprove of ſteps ſo contrary to the laws of nations. He inſiſted, therefore, on receiving poſitive orders from the general.

† See original Papers, No. 13.

As the troops deſigned for the invaſion of Canada could not be encreaſed to too great a number: on the one hand, letters were ſent to the governors, with orders to receive all the French deſerters, to enliſt them, and have them ſupplied with every thing they ſhould deſire: on the other, it was induſtriouſly reported among the Ohio ſavages, that the Engliſh had no other view, but to protect them from the encroachments of the French; and the provincial governors were not wanting in their exhortations, that they would meet at Wills's-Creek, on the frontiers of Virginia. But it may be ſaid, that in general, the Engliſh have received little aſſiſtance from theſe people. They were not better aſſiſted by the Iroquois. It appears by general Braddock's letters, that of all the Five Nations, *(a)* the Anies were the only, who gave them any inſtances of attachment.

To proceed: in order to prevail on the ſavages to take arms againſt the French, and ravage their colonies, was one of the ſubjects, deliberated in the grand council held at Alexandria, towards the middle of April. Colonel Shirley, then governor of New-England, arrived in that city the 12th, in company with the other governors, and colonel Johnſon, who of all the Engliſh officers, was beſt acquainted with the genius of the ſavages, and

(a) See original Papers, No. 13.

the beſt manner of negociating with them. Mr. Shirley, if we are to give credit to colonel Nappier's inſtructions, was fitter for the cabinet than a command. However, he had then erected a fort, with an armed force, on the territories of France, near the ſource of the river Nourentſouac, which is about thirty leagues from Quebeck. This expedition undoubtedly was what recommended him to the friendſhip of the general, who ever after gave him diſtinguiſhing proofs of his regard, ſo as may be immediately ſeen, by his entruſting him, with one of the moſt important commands. He had already an interview with him at Annapolis in Maryland, where they had, in all likelihood ſettled together, ſome of the points, which were afterwards propoſed to the conſideration of the general council at Alexandria. The minutes of the reſolutions taken in this council, were ſent to ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, in a letter which the general wrote him, the 19th of April. We are told in this letter, that the plan of that campaign's operations was here finally ſettled. They ſeemed linked together in ſo maſterly a manner, that Mr. Braddock feared not to ſay, the ſucceſs of one of them enſured that of all the reſt. *(b)* He might have ſpoke truth: in as much as the ill ſucceſs of one, occaſioned the failure of all the others. For

(b) Letter of April 19, 1754, original Papers, No. 13.

the

the reſt, we will here preſent the reader with the different parts of the project, ſuch as they were ſettled and agreed to, in the aſſembly.

1. It was reſolved, that agreeable to a plan concerted between Mr. Shirley and Mr. Lawrence, governor of Acadia, before tranſmitted to the court of London, colonel Monćton ſhould be directed to attack without loſs of time, the French forts towards Acadia. The neceſſary orders for this expedition were immediately diſpatched him.

2. It was agreed that Mr. Johnſon, with a body of troops of about four thouſand and four hundred men, raiſed in the northern provinces, ſhould ſurpriſe fort Frederick, and make himſelf maſter thereof.

3. That Mr. Shirley with his own, and Pepperel's regiments, ſhould take upon himſelf the attack of the fort of Niagara; that he ſhould have a ſufficient number of Battoes to tranſport his troops and artillery by lake Ontario, and that a ſufficient reinforcement ſhould be ſent to the garriſon of Oſwego: which was intended to aſſiſt him if neceſſary, and to facilitate his retreat in caſe of a defeat.

4. Beſides the attack on fort Frederick, colonel Johnſton was entruſted with an important negociation with the Iroquois: whom to determine to a war was abſolutely reſolved on. General Braddock was not ignorant how formidable thoſe barbarians prove to the nation which they conſider as in enmity. He gave Mr

Johnſon ſpeeches ready prepared, (c) and 2000 livres which were to be employed in preſents.

5. There now remained but the expedition which the General reſerved for himſelf: it has been but too well known by its ill ſucceſs. It was reſolved that he ſhould ſet out for Frederick's town the 20th of April, from whence he was to proceed to the mountains: where it was ſuppoſed he ſhould arrive about the beginning of May; ſo as to be able to complete, in the month of June, the execution of his intended plan on the Ohio.

Such was neither more nor leſs, the plan which was by it intended, than to open all the avenues of Canada to the Engliſh, and to make them maſters of the river St. Laurence: each commander knew both his particular deſtination, and the relation which his commiſſion had with all thoſe, which were to be executed at the ſame time. The only buſineſs now was by accelerating the invaſion. And to take the French unawares. General Braddock, who had ſpent the laſt days of April, and the firſt of May at Frederick's Town, arrived at Fort Cumberland the 10th of May; to which place the whole army came up the 17th, after a very laborious march of twenty-ſeven days. This army amounted only to 2000 effective men. And, indeed, its buſineſs only, was the taking of

(c) See No. 13.

Fort

Fort du Queſne: after which it was to reinforce the body of troops commanded by Mr. Shirley, before Niagara.

Mr. Braddock ſeems not to have been wanting at this time in ſerious reflections on the difficulties of his undertaking; his uneaſineſs appears in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinſon on the 5th of June, where he complains of the want of zeal in the colonies to ſecond him, of the dangers he was expoſed to, and the expence he was obliged to be at in tranſporting artillery and ammunition into countries hitherto uninhabited, and unknown to the inhabitants themſelves; *(d)* he was ſtill at fort Cumberland when he wrote this letter. He ſet out from thence towards the end of June, and the unfortunate event of the battle fought the 9th of July, which put an end to his life, and his projects, is already well known.

Colonel Johnſon, ſet out immediately after the breaking up of the aſſembly at Alexandria, in order to execute on his part, the commiſſion which he was entruſted with. He ſpent the beſt part of the month of May among the Mohawk Indians, and in continual endeavours to animate them to a war. Nothing was omitted that could make the French appear odious: but neither calumnies nor preſents were attended with that ſucceſs which the En-

(d) See original Papers, No. 14.

gliſh

gliſh flattered themſelves with. It was attempted in vain to make the Anies believe that the French had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral lands which were the property not of England (for he dared not venture ſo far) but the Indians in their alliance. Theſe people who have more penetration than they are generally ſuppoſed to have, were not the dupes of this ſpeech: however, in return, they paid a great many compliments; but refuſed to come to any reſolution, on pretence that this point muſt be previouſly canvaſſed in a general aſſembly of the nations. On the other hand, the ſpeeches of Colonel Johnſon and the Indian chiefs are ſufficient evidence, that theſe people do not acknowledge the Engliſh to have any right to dictate laws to them. Both nations treat each other as equals. The Iroquois, who betrayed little or no diſpoſition at that time to enter into an alliance with England, are become irreconcilable enemies, ſince thoſe imprudent proclamations, by which the Engliſh commanders appointed rewards for their ſcalps.

During this important negociation, Colonel Johnſon had his thoughts bent on the future attack of Crown-point. The 5th of May he wrote to the governors, from whom he was to receive ſupplies of men and artillery. (*e*) We have a proof in this letter, on the one hand, of a reſolution having been taken to bom-

(*e*) See original Papers, No. 15.

bard

bard the fort; on the other, that the Engliſh flattered themſelves they might make their appearance before the place e're the French could have any ſuſpicion of their project. We muſt, ſays he, be very quick in our preparations, in order that our march be not retarded, by which the enemy might be confirmed in their ſuſpicion of an attack: if unfortunately they ſhould be appriſed of it.

Every thing being ready; on the ſide of Acadia, for the execution of the attack, on the forts of the Iſthmus, Colonel Monckton began, with iſſuing the 3d of May, in the name of governor Lawrence, a proclamation directing all and every the inhabitants of the French territories beyond the Iſthmus, to repair to the Engliſh camp, where they were to bring all their arms. (*f*) This was certainly that ſame country with reſpect to which his Britannick Majeſty had, (even ſince the erected forts, *Engliſh* as well as *French*,) engaged his formal promiſe, that no innovation ſhould take place till the commiſſaries did come to a determination. Colonel Monckton the 16th and 17th of June following bombarded and took the ports of Beauſejour and Gaſpereau.

We are now come down to that period wherein the rupture broke out between both courts. It would have happened much ſooner, had the court of France had earlier informa-

(*f*) See original Papers, No. 16.

tions

tions of his Britannick Majeſty's reſolutions: but at the very time that this plan of invaſion, concerted before the year 1754, was carrying into execution in America, the Britiſh miniſtry were buſy in their endeavours to amuſe France, by the means of negociations. War was carrying on beyond the ſeas: while people in Europe, were ſolely taken up with a ſyſtem of pacification, and proper methods to prevent a rupture, on which England was already determined.

The ſole view of England in this negociation, of which Europe had notice, was to gain the time neceſſary to carry into execution at once, all the parts of their project. And indeed it will ſoon appear, that the more France became tractable, the greater number of new difficulties was raiſed by his Britannick Majeſty's miniſters, in order to elude a conciliation. 'Till from the letters of General Braddock, the court of London having no further doubt about the ſucceſs, his Britannick Majeſty gave expreſs orders for the carrying on openly a war at ſea, and attacking, without diſtinction, all the King's ſhips.

That theſe were the views of the Britiſh court, will appear by a particular account of the negociations in which the French miniſtry were very ſeriouſly employed: and, in which that of Great-Britain appeared to be ſo, during the firſt ſix months of 1755.

In the month of January of this year, his Majeſty being deſirous to prevent the conſequences

quences of the differences ariſen between the French and the Engliſh on the banks of the Ohio, the cauſe of which as has been above ſeen, could have been laid to the charge of the latter only, had given in to the court of London by the hands of the Duke de Mirepoix a memorial coinciding with theſe intentions.

In this memorial *a*, which is of the 15th of January, it was propoſed by the King to his Britannick Majeſty, that, previous to any examination into the grounds and circumſtances of this quarrel, poſitive orders ſhould be ſent to the reſpective governors, inhibiting henceforward any new encroachment or hoſtile act; and that they ſhould be even directed to reeſtabliſh, without delay, matters on the territories ſituated towards the banks of the Ohio, on the ſame footing that they were, or ought to have been, on or before the late war.

The King deſired at the ſame time, that their reſpective pretentions to this territory ſhould be referred amicably to the commiſſaries; and that in order to remove all apprehenſions, his Britannick Majeſty would be pleaſed to explain himſelf openly, with reſpect to the deſtination and motives of the armament which had been made in Ireland.

Had this propoſal been accepted, the fort Du Queſne, which the General was ordered to attack, would have been deſtroyed by the

a See original Papers No. 1.

French themſelves, and the commiſſaries of both nations, would have canvaſſed in an amicable manner, the titles and poſſeſſions of both crowns.

An anſwer to this memorial was delivered to the Duke de Mirepoix the 22d of January 1755 *b*. This anſwer is compoſed of two parts; and though the firſt appears ſomewhat captious, yet the ſecond was free from any ſort of double meaning; and ought to have been ſufficient to quiet the apprehenſions of the court of France with regard to the armament in Ireland.

1. His Britannick Majeſty deſires, that the poſſeſſion of the territory towards the river Ohio, may be re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing it was on, at the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht; and agreeable to the ſtipulations of that treaty. He inſiſts likewiſe on the ſame regulation with regard to all the other poſſeſſions of North America; and conſents, after a compliance with theſe preliminary conditions, to enter into a negociation concerning the propereſt methods of inſtructing the reſpective governors; and forbidding them all new acts of violence; and that the pretentions on each ſide may be ſubmitted to be expeditiouſly and finally diſcuſſed, and amicably adjuſted, by the miniſters of the reſpective courts.

b See original Papers, No. 2.

2. His

2 His Britannick Majeſty declares, that the defence of his rights and poſſeſſions, and the protection of his ſubjects have been the only motive of the armament that had been ſent to North America; which was done without any intent to give offence to any power whatſoever, or commit any act that might interrupt the general peace.

It was hard to conceive how the treaty of Utrecht, could be made a handle of, to ſettle the rights of either nation, on the Ohio; or how it was poſſible to require, as a previous ſtep to every negociation, that the other territories in diſpute ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the ſame ſtate they were in, at the concluſion of this treaty; and agreeably to the ſtipulations therein contained.

At the time of the treaty of Utrecht France had the poſſeſſion: whereas it was France made conceſſions. As to the extenſiveneſs of this ceſſion, and the ſenſe in which the ſtipulations of the treaty were to be underſtood, that was the very point agreed on to be ſubmitted to the deciſion of the commiſſaries. And the King of England had engaged his word, that there ſhould be no innovation, till they came to a deciſion.

It was therefore that the court of France ſtill inſiſted on its firſt demand; and at the ſame time that it gave his Britannick Majeſty aſſurances of the confidence, which it repoſed in the ſincerity of his declaration, it

was made appear, in a reply delivered to the court of London, the 6th of February, that the medium propoſed by his Majeſty was the only expedient that could prevent ſome diſagreeable troubles. This method was proved to be agreeable to the engagements contracted by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle; to the meaſures taken ſince that æra, and the terms demanded by England itſelf, in 1750 and 1751. And indeed whereas the object of the commiſſion agreed to by the court of London, was to determine the ſenſe of the articles XII. and XIII. of the treaty of Utrecht, the execution of theſe articles, could not be conſidered as the baſis of the negociation. That were making a principle of conduct, and a certain rule of the very queſtion, that was ſubmitted to the deciſion of commiſſaries.

It was therefore propoſed by his Majeſty: 1ſt, That orders ſhould be ſent by both kings to the reſpective governors, to forbear all acts of violence and every new enterprize.

2. That matters ſhould be reſtored to the ſame ſtate in which they were, or ought to have been in, before the late war, all over North America; agreeable to the eleventh article of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

3. That, agreeable to the eighteenth article of the ſame treaty, his Britannick majeſty ſhould apprize the commiſſaries, ſitting at Paris, of his pretenſions; and the foundations on which they were built.

Then

Then, in anſwer to the queſtion aſked by the court of London in its laſt memorial, concerning the intent of the armaments making by his majeſty, it was not diſſembled, that thoſe which the Britiſh court had itſelf given publick notice of to all Europe, and which it had executed in part, had rendered the precautions taken by France neceſſary.

In ſometime after, France condeſcended to yield further to difficulties formed by the court of London. She conſented to adhere proviſionally to matters as they ſtood immediately after the treaty of Utrecht; and the Duke de Mirepoix preſented to his Britannick majeſty's miniſters the project of a preliminary convention; and there was no doubt made of the conditions proving acceptable *c*. The ſtipulations were, that both ſovereigns ſhould agree, to ſend orders for the ſuſpenſion of all acts of violence on both ſides: that the French and Engliſh ſhould, proviſionally, evacuate all the country ſituate between the Ohio and the Apalachian mountains; and that they ſhould retire, thoſe to this ſide the mountains, theſe to the other ſide the river. That all this country ſhould, during the time of this convention, be conſidered as a neutral country, the frequenting which ſhould not be allowable to either nation; that things ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing they have been,

c See original Papers, No. 4.

or ought to have been on, ſince the treaty of Utrecht; and that all the forts, on both ſides, built, ſince that epoch, on the territories in diſpute ſhould be demoliſhed.

Laſtly, It was agreed by their majeſties, that they ſhould cauſe all the points in diſpute to be canvaſſed, and amicably ſettled, by the commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe, within the ſpace of two years.

This was acquieſcing, as we plainly ſee, in the propoſal made by the court of London, in its memorial of the 22d of January, 1755. The court of France negociated with ſo much the more confidence, as the king of England's miniſters had, very recently, given aſſurances to the Duke de Mirepoix, that the armaments in Ireland, and the fleet which had ſailed from thence, were chiefly intended to maintain ſubordination and good order among the Engliſh colonies.

Thoſe ſame miniſters who dreaded nothing ſo much as an accommodation; and who were well informed that at that time, Mr. Braddock, and all the Engliſh commanders were on their march, were to the laſt degree ſurprized at ſeeing France, thus ſubmitting, in ſome ſort, to their demands. They therefore reſolved to alter the plan, they had themſelves propoſed; and the 7th of March there was delivered, by their direction, to the Duke de Mirepoix, another project of convention, which they never would have thought of; but that they were very

very ſenſible it was impoſſible to agree to it *d*.

It was to be ſtipulated in this convention, that the two powers ſhould agree to diſpatch orders for the ceſſation of all acts of violence; but this was not to take place till ſuch time as the French had ſubmitted to the following conditions. 1. That not only the forts ſituated between the Apalachian mountains and the Ohio; but alſo, all the ſettlements ſituated between the Ohio and the river Ouabache, or of St. Jerom, ſhould be demoliſhed and deſtroyed. 2. That the forts on the Niagara, and fort Frederick on lake Champlain, ſhould be alſo raſed; and that the lakes Ontario, Erie and Champlain ſhould belong to nobody; but ſhould be open to the ſubjects of both crowns equally, who might carry on their trade thereon, without being moleſted. 3. That a definitive ceſſion ſhould be made to England, not only of the part in diſpute, of the Peninſula, ſituated to the north of Acadia, but likewiſe, of the ſpace of twenty leagues from ſouth to north, in all that extent of country that runs from the Pentagoet river to the Gulph of St. Laurence. 4. And Laſtly, That all the ſouthern bank of the river St. Laurence, ſhould be declared to be the property of neither, and ſhould remain uninhabited.

d See original Papers, No. 5.

On theſe terms, his Britannick majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, to entruſt the commiſſaries of both nations, with the deciſion of the ſurplus of his pretenſions.

Thus did the court of London render the preliminary negociation as long, and ſubject to as many difficulties as the principal negociation. It was all it wiſhed for: the court of France perceived that the tendency of propoſals ſo widely different from the firſt, was to retard the concluſion of a preliminary convention; it therefore inſiſted on the neceſſity of beginning, previous to any thing elſe, with iſſuing orders reſpectively, to prevent any future enterpriſe, or act of violence. It even propoſed that both courts ſhould communicate to each other mutually the orders which they ſent *e*; but to this, ſo equitable propoſal, an anſwer, abſolutely negative, was delivered to the Duke de Mirepoix the 5th of April 1755 *f*.

Nothing now was to be done but to impugn the project of convention on which the court of London inſiſted. It was no hard taſk to prove that the preliminary convention required by England, begun by giving abſolutely againſt France the queſtion in debate; with regard to which his Britannick Majeſty had engaged his formal promiſe, that he would abide by the determination of the commiſſaries. By this project the French muſt have parted irretrievably with

e See original Papers, No. 6. *f* No. 7,

the

the trade of Canada by the river St. John, deprived the King of the property of the three lakes, which were always conſidered as a part of New France: and the river St. Laurence, which is the center of Canada, became the limits of that colony. Theſe points were all diſcuſſed in a letter of the 13th of April 1755 *, by which the French miniſter informed the Duke de Mirepoix of his majeſty's intentions, and his anſwer to the project propoſed by England. This anſwer was no leſs than an abſolute refuſal to cloſe with the ſame.

The 24th of April 1755, the miniſters of London delivered to the French ambaſſador a ſort of a reply to this letter; they had received then no account of the laſt diſpoſitions made in America; and in England, they had no certainty that all theſe operations which were carefully concealed, could be carried at the ſame time into execution. It became therefore neceſſary to ſpin out ſtill the negociation to a ſufficient length. Wherefore we ſee † that in this reply the court of England complains of the narrow bounds which the French miniſters preſcribe to their reflections: it is even added, that this court is ready and willing to enter into an examination of all the conteſted points, and that in the courſe of ſuch examination it may poſſibly be found out

* See original Papers, No. 8. † No. 9.

in what the moſt eſſential differences conſiſt. His majeſty was therefore ſtill ſatisfied to enter into an examination and to canvaſs the points which obſtructed the concluſion of the preliminary treaty *. Aſſurances of this diſpoſition were given by the Duke de Mirepoix to the Britiſh miniſtry the 6th of May 1755; and in a memorial which was delivered to this ambaſſador the 9th of the ſaid month, the court of London affected to expreſs the greateſt ſatisfaction thereat in the following words †.

" 'Tis with the greateſt ſatisfaction the court of Great Britain obſerves, by the anſwer which his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix has delivered to Sir Thomas Robinſon the 6th of this month, that not only the court of France perſiſts in its reſolution for the preſervation of peace, but alſo that its diſpoſitions are the ſame with thoſe which England was always, and is ſtill in, towards entering without any delay, into the examination and amicable diſcuſſion of all the points in conteſt. The procedure of the court of London in all this negociation has been ſo candid and ſo full of confidence," &c.

'Tis needleſs to take notice of the date of this memorial, every one may compare it with thoſe of General Braddock's letters, of which mention has been made above, and

* See original Papers, No. 10. † No. 11.

endeavour

endeavour to reconcile this candour and confidence, with the hoſtilities committed then in America, while the Britiſh miniſters were giving ſuch conſtant, formal, and repeated aſſurances to his majeſty's ambaſſador. The reſolution of a rupture began to become publick all over London, with this additional circumſtance, that Admiral Boſcawen, who had been juſt gone, had orders to attack the French veſſels wherever he found them. The pretended encroachments of France were no longer mentioned as the motive of the war; it was the neceſſity of laying hold on this opportunity to deſtroy her commerce, and put it out of her power to reeſtabliſh her marine.

Theſe reports were ſo conſtant and ſo univerſal, that the Duke de Mirepoix thought fit to acquaint his court with them. This he did, notwithſtanding the moſt formal aſſurances, which the Britiſh miniſters gave him repeatedly, of their pacific intentions. They conſtantly repeated to him, that he ought not to give credit to public reports or writings. Theſe ſame miniſters were not content with this; the Duke de Mirepoix having ſo early as the latter end of April, expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs at the deſtination of Admiral Boſcawen's fleet, and the orders which were given him; they aſſured him poſitively that the Engliſh would not begin firſt.

'Tis not to be wondered that France relying on ſo many appearances of good faith, ſhould have thought it incumbent on her to go on with the negociation. The Engliſh miniſters never ventured on one propoſition, without giving plainly to underſtand that they had ſtill ſomething in reſerve. The Duke de Mirepoix gave in therefore, the 12th of May, a memorial much more extenſive than the former ones *, and in which were diſcuſſed the rights and intereſts of both nations, relative to the articles of the preliminary convention, with regard to which they had not hitherto been able to come to an agreement.

The Engliſh miniſtry having made him wait the remaining part of the month of May and the firſt days of June, they returned an anſwer the 7th, and whoever obſerves that it was on the 8th of this month Admiral Boſcawen gave the ſignal of an open rupture, will be convinced, that this delay was part of the court of London's plan of meaſures. In this anſwer, which was poſtponed with ſo much ſkill, the miniſtry of London renew the very grounds of all their pretenſions on America; we are reminded of the right derived to the Engliſh from their empire over the Iroquois, the pretended ſale made by theſe to the Engliſh; in ſhort, it contains all thoſe queſtions on the

† See original Papers, No. 12.

ſubject

ſubject of Acadia, the deciſion of which had been referred to the commiſſaries of both nations. The object of a preliminary convention was now laid aſide, though propoſed as the only method to prevent hoſtilities, and to enable the two crowns to negociate in an amicable manner. This brought the very grounds of the quarrel on the carpet, but it little then concerned England, which aimed only at gaining time, which was now drawing near that period, in which her enterpriſes muſt become public.

The 15th of July news was received at London of the taking of two French veſſels, the Alcide and the Lys, attacked on the banks of Newfoundland by Admiral Boſcawen, whoſe words were all words of peace till ſuch time as his artillery was in a ſituation to fire into the very ſhips, point blank, or till he had come within half a cannon ſhot. If any thing could exceed the ſurpriſe of his majeſty's ambaſſador in London at this piece of news, it muſt have been occaſioned by the inſinuation of one of the Engliſh miniſters in aſcribing ſuch evident hoſtilities to a miſtake: nay, the ſecretary of ſtate would fain perſuade him that this event ought not to break the thread of the negociation. No doubt but it would have been more advantageous to the Britiſh miniſtry, had France gone on negociating till ſuch time as they received a certain account of the execution of the general plan of

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invaſion, the ſucceſs of which at that time was looked on as infallible.

The world may judge from this narrative, whether the French Ambaſſador's departure from London can be taxed with too much precipitation, as it is pretended by the court of Great Britain in the memorial, to which we have now given a reply, compoſed ſolely of facts.

What has paſſed ſince this departure, as well in Europe as in America, has been of too publick and notorious a nature to need a relation of it in this place. That which we have here given both of the military operations and the political negociations of England, will be ſufficient to convey a juſt idea, not only of the cauſes of the rupture, but likewiſe of the views by which both powers were conducted.

Such are the facts, not one of which can be diſclaimed by England, let Europe give judgment.

End of the Memorial.

NUMBER I.

EXTRACT

OF THE

Britiſh Court's Memorial,

Delivered to the French MINISTER, *the 24th of* July, 1749, *in anſwer to thoſe, preſented on the king's part, concerning the Settlements projected by* ENGLAND.

THE king, having made ſome reflections on the memorial preſented to his excellency the duke of Bedford, the 7th of laſt month, by the ſieur Durand his moſt chriſtian majeſty's chargé d'affaires at the court of England, has ordered, that a repreſentation ſhould be made to the ſaid chargé d'affaires, in the following manner, of the ſeveral obſervations, which appear neceſſary to be made, on the ſaid memorial.

The two points, concerning which the moſt chriſtian king deſires an explanation, viz. the ſettlement of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia; and the project aſcribed to Mr. Dobbs, are ſo little liable in themſelves to any objection on the

part of any power whatſoever, that it will be no difficult matter to efface the ill impreſſions which the court of France might have conceived from the falſe reports that poſſibly have been ſuggeſted to it on that head.

The only thing, which might have with juſtice given umbrage to the court of France, were a well grounded apprehenſion of the king's having given orders for extending the ſettlements in New Scotland, beyond what his majeſty was entitled to by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

But this apprehenſion falls of itſelf; as the king, agreeable to the deſires of the moſt chriſtian king, has conſented to refer to the commiſſaries the ſettling of the limits of New Scotland, according to its ancient boundaries; as well as the limits of, and right of poſſeſſion to the ſeveral Iſlands and countries, about which the two nations have any diſpute: moreover, is it to be ſuppoſed the king would make ſettlements, which are neceſſarily attended with ſo much expence, in a part of the province to which his right was not clear and indiſputable?

The limits therefore, of Nova Scotia being referred to the examination of the commiſſaries, it is needleſs here to make replies to all the aſſertions contained on that ſubject, in the ſaid memorial of the ſieur Durand.

The ſieur Durand has alſo taken ſome ſort of notice in his memorial of the plan deſigned

ſigned by Mr. Dobbs; as if tending to encroach on the trade, which the French carry on with the Indians of North Canada, and to extend the Britiſh ſettlements in thoſe parts, in a manner prejudicial to the rights of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. He has not deſcended to any particulars on this head, on account of the objects of the ſaid plan not being ſufficiently known in France.

But let that be as it will, it were very eaſy to give an entire ſatisfaction to the court of France, on this head, by aſſuring it, that this plan which has been debated on in parliament, had abſolutely no other object, than to lay open to the whole nation an excluſive trade, which had been a long time engroſſed by a company, that had derived its privilege from a particular charter. And this, with the ſole view of extending trade in general, in theſe parts: and, in no ways, with an intent to enlarge the poſſeſſions of the nation, at the expence of any other people whatſoever.

But as this plan has not met with the approbation of parliament, it has been laid aſide, and is now of courſe, out of the queſtion: Yet, had it been executed, it does not appear, why it ſhould afford to the court of France any pretence to complain. Inaſmuch as it related only to a domeſtic affair of the kingdoms, viz. whether a trade carried on, a long time, to Hudſon's Bay, ſhould be continued to be carried on, excluſively, by a particular com-

pany? Or, whether it ſhould be laid open to all his majeſty's ſubjects?

The king, having therefore thus explained his ſentiments, is very ready to declare in anſwer to the demands made by the court of France.

1. That effectual orders have been already given to make no attempt either on the ſide of Nova Scotia, or that of Hudſon's Bay, on the poſſeſſions or trade of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's ſubjects, or that might be in any ways derogatory to the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle, or to any prior engagements actually ſubſiſting between both crowns.

2. That his majeſty conſents to appoint, out of hand, two commiſſaries to confer in Paris with thoſe of his moſt chriſtian majeſty on the ſubject of the reſpective limits now in diſpute, between the two crowns, as well thoſe that relate to Nova Scotia or Acadia, as thoſe of the other parts of the continent, where the ſettlements of both nations border on each other; as well as to determine (agreeable to the propoſal made in a former memorial) which are the iſlands that are to belong to each crown, and thoſe that are to remain neutral.

His majeſty, previous to his having given orders for the making thoſe ſettlements in that part of Nova Scotia, to which, though undoubtedly belonging to his majeſty, France has laid claim, has agreed to refer his

pretenſions

pretenſions to the deciſion of commiſſaries, as a convincing proof of his deſire to preſerve the union and harmony ſo happily reeſtabliſhed between both crowns.

NUMBER II.

A letter from my Lord Albemarle *to the Marquis* de Puyſieulx, *containing complaints on the ſending of a detachment by M.* de la Jonquiere, *in order to protect the inhabitants of* Chepoudi.

Paris, March 25, 1750.

I Have juſt received a letter from the Duke of Bedford, with the King's orders directing me to repreſent to your excellency the ſubjects of complaint to which his moſt chriſtian majeſty's governors in America have given occaſion, by incroaching on the King's territories in Nova Scotia. 'Tis with great regret his majeſty finds himſelf under the neceſſity of making repreſentations againſt any of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's ſubjects; and the more ſo as he had flattered himſelf, that after thoſe which I made by his orders in the month of September laſt, and your excellency's anſwer relative to the ſettlement which M. de la Galiſſoniere had undertaken to make at the mouth of John's river, poſitive orders had been ſent to the French governors, not only

only to put an end to all ſubjects of diſpute, but alſo to be very careful hereafter to avoid every thing that might give occaſion to new ſtrifes.

The King has, notwithſtanding, lately received letters from the Sieur Cornwallis, his governor of New Scotland, by which he complains, that M. de la Jonquiere has ſent troops to Chipoudi; which is one of the diſtricts that had ſent deputies to governor Cornwallis on his arrival in that province, in order to make the proper ſubmiſſion and receive the King's orders. There cannot be a ſtronger argument that theſe inhabitants have conſidered themſelves as ſubjects of Great Britain, ſince the province of Nova Scotia has been annexed to that crown.

'Tis needleſs here to repeat all the reaſons that authoriſe his majeſty to demand the juſtice which this new ſtep of M. de la Jonquiere entitles him to; they cannot but be known to his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

After the formal orders given by the King to all his governors, to be continually mindful that all theſe diſputes are to be adjuſted in an amicable manner, and conſequently to avoid carefully all hoſtile procedure * ſo long as the honour and rights of the crown did not require

* This is what M. Cornwallis has not done: ſince it is certain, that the fort of the Minas, and that of Beau-baſſin were built, before the French erected thoſe of Beauſejour, and Gaſpereau; and, that theſe were not

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it indiſpenſibly; it will be ſufficient, without taking any notice here of the King's inconteſtible right, that the ſame motive of reciprocation intervenes to determine his moſt chriſtian majeſty to give ſimilar orders to M. de la Jonquiere, to reeſtabliſh all things in their firſt ſtate, till ſuch time as the commiſſaries, to whom has been referred by agreement the deciſion of the limits in America, have ſettled the rights of both crowns; and to deſiſt from every enterpriſe which might tend to give the leaſt interruption to the union ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed between both nations. The King is perſuaded his moſt chriſtian majeſty will be the more inclinable to make ſuch ſalutary and amicable diſpoſitions, that ſmall altercations of this nature, if not ſeaſonably prevented, may be attended with bad conſequences.

I am, &c.

Signed, ALBEMARLE.

built, till the violences of M. Cornwallis had forced the French inhabitants of the Iſthmus to retire into the heart of the country. This is a fact, which the Engliſh cannot deny, the epochs of the conſtruction of the forts, being a matter of certainty between both nations.

The Marquis de Puyſieulx's *anſwer to the foregoing letter.*

Verſailles, March 31, 1750.

SIR,

I Received the letter your excellency did me the honour to write me the 25th, containing the complaints of your court concerning the ſtep taken by the Marquis de la Jonquiere, governor of New France, in having ſent a detachment of troops to Chipoudi; as the Comte de la Galiſſoniere, his predeceſſor, had done heretofore to the river of St. John.

The Britiſh court might have ſeen the reaſons which authoriſed the conduct of both theſe governors, in a memorial given in, in the month of June laſt, wherein the river St. John and Chipoudi have been demonſtrated to be on the continent of Canada.

As to the ſubmiſſions which might have been made, previous to the arrival of this detachment from Canada, to the Engliſh governor of Acadia, by ſome of the inhabitants of Chipoudi intimidated by the menaces of this governor, no right could from thence be derived to Great Britain, nor could they hinder theſe inhabitants from being French, and ſettled on French ground. They would only tend to prove, that if there has been any diſcuſſion on this frontier, it muſt have been occa-

occaſioned by ſome innovations on the part of the Engliſh governor *. And the fact is, that the precautions which the French governors have thought it incumbent upon them to take, have had no other object, but to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, alarmed by theſe innovations.

But, there ought to be no more altercations on this head between the reſpective governors; ſince orders have been ſent, to make no innovation, till ſuch time as the limits are ſettled, which is to be done by commiſſaries. The marquis de la Jonquiere, could not have received theſe orders, when he had ſent the detachment to Chepoudi. As they could not have been ſent him, till the latter end of this winter; which they are not ignorant of in England.

As for the reſt, all this ought only to make the neceſſity of the commiſſaries thus entering on buſineſs more ſenſible, in order to the ſettling the limits of the poſſeſſions of the two crowns in America. And I am directed by the king,

* Theſe forced ſubmiſſions of ſome inhabitants were effectually the conſequence of the Engliſh governor's menaces, and are an inſtance of a recent encroachment. How came the Engliſh not to dream, ſince the treaty of Utrecht, of making the authority of their government acknowledged in this country? The truth even, of any inhabitants having made ſubmiſſions at that time, is not well atteſted. However, it is certain, the greateſt part of the inhabitants, addreſſed themſelves for protection to the marquis de la Jonquiere, againſt theſe violent proceedings.

to renew his ſollicitations for that purpoſe, with the king of Great Britain; his majeſty inſiſts on this affair, with the more eagerneſs, as the end of their meeting is to keep up the good underſtanding, ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed between the two crowns, and their ſubjects: and, that the king has nothing more at heart, than the maintaining, and ſettling it on a firm baſis.

I am, &c.

Signed PUYSIEULX.

NUMBER III.

MEMORIAL *delivered on the king's part, to my lord* Albemarle, *the 5th of* January, 1751, *and ſent the ſame day to the duke de* Mirepoix *in* England; *containing complaints made by* France, *againſt the hoſtilities committed, and avowed by the* Engliſh.

FOR ſeveral months paſt, the public papers have proclaimed ſeveral acts of violence committed by the Engliſh on the French veſſels; both in the gulph of St. Laurence, and on the coaſts of New France. But, theſe accounts appeared to be ſo contrary to the law of nations, and the amicable diſpoſitions, of which the Britiſh court has given ſo many inſtances ſince the peace; that they met

met with no ſort of credit. And, we could not but be ſurpriſed to the laſt degree, on having received, juſt now, intimations by letters from Canada, and Cape Breton, that the Engliſh veſſels act in theſe ſeas, in the ſame manner, as they might do, in caſe of an open war.

Theſe veſſels have ſpread themſelves all the laſt ſummer, to the very upper end of the gulph of St. Laurence, ſtopping and inſulting all the French veſſels that they met. They attempted to carry off a brigantine, which lay at anchor in the river of St. John, and was ſent thither by the intendant of Canada, with proviſions for the detachments of the king's troops in thoſe parts. But, not being able to attain their ends, the Engliſh captain carried off ſome of the ſeamen, belonging to the brigantine, who have been ſent back to Cape Breton by M. Cornwallis, governor of Acadia. But without deſcending to particulars, relating to the irregularities, and all the acts of violence put in practice by the Engliſh ſhipping; we ſhall here confine ourſelves to two facts.

The firſt is, the taking of a French veſſel, called the London Captain Ialain, by two Engliſh ſnows armed. This little veſſel had been ſent by the intendant of Canada, to Chedaic in the gulph of St. Laurence, with proviſions for the king's troops at that place; and, at the ſame time to carry the ammunition, goods and proviſions, which the king is wont to ſend annually, as preſents to the ſavages of

a French miſſion. It was on its return from Chedaic, where ſhe had unloaded, that this veſſel was ſtopped towards the end of Auguſt, between the coaſt of Canada and Cape Breton. It was afterwards carried into Chebucto, where it was confiſcated.

The ſecond is likewiſe the taking of a French brigantine by a frigate belonging to the King of Great Britain. The circumſtance of which will undoubtedly appear to his Britannic majeſty, of much a more aggravating nature than that of the firſt. The Marquis de la Jonquiere having had intimations of the conduct of the Engliſh veſſels, of which he had made ſeveral complaints to M. Cornwallis, and being deſirous to ſend the neceſſary ſupplies to the detachments of troops on John's river, reſolved, in the month of September laſt, to arm at Quebeck the brigantine, the St. Francis, in order to convoy a ſloop, on board which the intendant had cauſed theſe ſuccours to be ſhipped. He conferred on the ſieur de Vergor, a captain in the troops, the command of this brigantine, which carried ten ſmall cannons, and whoſe crew conſiſted of ſixty men, including thirty ſoldiers. The inſtructions which he gave to captain Vergor contained ſtrict and poſitive orders to make no attempt againſt the Engliſh ſhips which he ſhould meet; and in caſe he ſhould meet with any that attempted to oppoſe his paſſage, he was charged by the governor not to fire at her

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till the attack was begun by the Engliſhman, and till he had given him notice that he commanded a veſſel belonging to the king of France, armed to carry proviſions to his troops. The 16th of October, the brigantine and the other veſſel being at two leagues weſt of the iſlands of Seal, captain Vergor diſcovered, at eleven in the morning, an Engliſh frigate, which came acroſs him and bore down on him in an inſtant right before the wind, and crowding all her ſails. In half an hour after this, the frigate fired a cannon with ball into the ſtern of the brigantine, and hoiſted her flag. Captain Vergor hoiſted immediately both his ſtreamer and flag, and gave them a ſhot, ſtill purſuing his way. The frigate alſo continued the chace, and being, in half an hour, come up with him, and within ſhot of a ſix pounder, fired a ſecond ſhot at him, and put up her ſtreamer; in a little time after ſhe fired a third ſhot, which went through the ſail of captain Vergor's foretopmaſt, who then prepared himſelf for fighting in caſe of a freſh inſult; the frigate, being come ſtill nearer, fired four cannon ſhots at his ſails. Agreeable to the orders he had received from the marquis de la Jonquiere, he cauſed a perſon to cry out in French, that this was a ſhip belonging to the king of France, and going with proviſions and ammunition for the uſe of his majeſty's troops. The anſwer of the Engliſh commander being, that he muſt either bring to, or he would

would ſink him. Captain Vergor had the ſame thing repeated to him in Engliſh; but the only anſwer was a whole volly of his cannon and ſmall arms. The fight laſted five hours, but the brigantine was ſo much damaged in her maſt, which was cut, and in her ſails and rigging, that captain Vergor was obliged to ſurrender himſelf; after having ſeveral of his men killed or wounded. The long-boat having been alſo diſabled, the Engliſh captain ſent his boat in order to fetch him on board; when captain Vergor diſcovered this frigate to be the Albany, carrying fourteen pieces of cannon, twenty-eight ſwivels, and a hundred and twenty men, commanded by captain Rous. This captain ordered alſo on board his ſhip the crew and the ſoldiers belonging to the brigantine, where he left none but the wounded, and made the beſt of his way for Chibucto with the brigantine in tow. It was but the 19th of the ſame month that they arrived at Chibucto The next day the governor ſent on board the frigate for captain Vergor, who was immediately conducted to the governor's houſe, where he was locked up in a chamber. In half an hour after M. Cornwallis came to him, and had the chamber again locked. He at firſt told him, he was very ſorry for what had happened, and that captain Rous had loſt a great many of his men: captain Vergor anſwered, that he was alſo very ſorry for what had paſſed, and that

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it ought to be imputed only to captain Rous, of whoſe conduct he informed him. M. Cornwallis replied, that if things had paſſed in the manner he ſaid they did, captain Rous was in the fault, and that he would call his council the next day in order to decide the matter. The council was actually called captain Rous, his lieutenant, and ſome of his crew, were brought before the council, to which captain Vergor was likewiſe admitted the laſt recited the faults in the manner they were already ſpecified. Captain Rous could not deny but that he had begun firſt, by firing a cannon ball at the brigantine's foretopſail.

On this the governor got up, and having ordered into the council chamber the officers belonging to the brigantine, who had been previouſly brought into a room contiguous to it, they were ſummoned to tell who it was that fired the firſt ſhot? They all anſwered, that it was captain Rous, who had fired two vollies. Captain Vergor's declaration was then read to them, and they all certified it to be true, in all its circumſtances. Notwithſtanding the council came to no reſolution, either in this, or in five or ſix other ſittings, which were held afterwards. But in two or three days after the firſt, M. Cornwallis aſked captain Vergor, what ſhould be wanting to refit the brigantine for the ſea, offering to ſupply him therewith. He repreſented to him, that he could not do without a great maſt, and four

pieces

pieces of cordage. The governor promiſed him every thing, and had actually a maſt cut, which was brought from the woods by the brigantine's crew, and bid captain Vergor to begin the mending of his ſails, ſhrouds, and other things neceſſary. This captain was going to take his meaſures in conſequence, when behold! captain Rous appeals to the admiralty, where the brigantine is condemned as a lawful prize. In a letter which M. Cornwallis has wrote to M. Deſherbiers, commandant of Cape Breton, when he returned him captain Vergor, and the crew belonging to the brigantine, with the arms of the ſoldiers, who were part of it, he tells him, the admiralty had pronounced this ſentence of confiſcation for having carried on an unlawful trade in his Britannic majeſty's province. Theſe are the words he makes uſe of.

We are of opinion, all diſcuſſions on a queſtion of this kind, may be diſpenſed with. Here is an armed veſſel, on the king's ſervice, commanded by an officer of his majeſty's, attacked and fought, as in a time of open war. We have too good an opinion of the uprightneſs of his Britannic majeſty's intentions to aſcribe, to any order of his, an enterpriſe, ſo directly oppoſite to all laws. And, we make no doubt, but, upon being informed of the facts, the greateſt reliance may be had on his equity; not only with reſpect to the juſtice, and ſatisfaction due for the ſaid captures

tures; but alſo, the orders proper to be given to prevent the like exceſſes for the future.

Extract of a letter from captain Rous, *commander of his majeſty's ſloop the* Albany, *dated from* Chebucto *harbour in* Nova Scotia, October 31, 1750.

THE next day, after I had left John's river, in doubling cape Sable, about non, I diſcovered a brigantine and a ſchooner coming round this cape, about two miles from the coaſt, ſteering north-weſt: and as I had notice given me of a pyrate brigantine being on this coaſt†, I immediately began to chace in order to ſpeak with her. They no ſooner perceived us, than they made a ſignal to the ſchooner which was in company, and which in conſequence changed her courſe to weſt ſouth-weſt. Being arrived within diſtance of a random ſhot, the brigantine ſteering weſt north-weſt, I fired a cannon acroſs the ſtern of the brigantine in order to bring her to; the ſchooner bearing away with all her ſails. The

* This extract was given to his majeſty's miniſter, by the Engliſh ambaſſador, by way of excuſe for the conduct of the Engliſh.

Captain Rous alters the facts, and ſuppreſſes many eſſential circumſtances; yet, he cannot help confeſſing himſelf the aggreſſor.

† It is by Means of this bad excuſe that the Engliſh have always endeavoured to gloſs over their hoſtilities by ſea.

brigantine ſet up French colours immediately and anſwered with a cannon ſhot; the ſchooner did the ſame without putting up a flag. Being come within cannon ſhot, I fired another cannon before her ſtern; upon which they anſwered ſtill with another ſhot, lowered their main ſail, and furled it, in order to make room for their ſmall arms and make ready for an engagement Being come near enough to them I hailed them, but they made no anſwer: I then gave orders for the firing a ſix pounder, and went on hailing; while this was doing, being come very cloſe to her, the brigantine turned to our ſtarboard, and tacking a little to the ſouth in order to preſent us her larboard, ſhe ſent us all her volly of cannon and ſmall arms; while we continued hailing without receiving any anſwer. I immediately returned the compliment, and they continued the fight during two hours and a half; after which ſome body cried out to us in Engliſh that they would fire no longer. I ordered them therefore to come to, and I ſent on board the lieutenant, who returned with the captain of the brigantine and his papers, by which I found that this ſhip was a French brigantine, called the St. Francis, of about an hundred and twenty tons, carrying ten guns and four ſwivels, her crew conſiſting of ſixty men including thirty ſoldiers; that this veſſel had been laden at Quebec with arms, ammunition, cloaths, and

proviſions for the Indians, and was armed, in order to convoy a ſchooner which had the ſame lading, and which got away during the fight.

I brought this brigantine into this port, where ſhe has been condemned as a lawful prize by the court of admiralty, as carrying on a contraband trade; which your lordſhips will ſee by the copy of the ſaid court's ſentence here annexed.

We had two men killed and one wounded in the engagement. The brigantine had ſix killed and ſeven wounded. The maſter or commander of the brigantine ſays ſhe is a king's ſhip; but he has no brevet, and only an order of the governor of Canada to take upon himſelf the command of this veſſel, in order to convoy the ſchooner to John's river; and after he had landed the ammunition and preſents for the Indians, to return into the harbour of Quebec to be laid up.

I am alſo to acquaint your lordſhips, that on my laſt coming here I met his majeſty's frigate the Tryal, returning from her cruize in the bay Verte, where ſhe had found the 8th of Auguſt laſt a French boat called the London of Canada, commanded by captain le Cras: upon examining her papers, they found that this veſſel had been employed in introducing warlike ſtores, proviſions and merchandizes into his majeſty's province for the uſe of the Indians; and for theſe reaſons the Tryal took her and brought her in here,

where ſhe was confiſcated by his majeſty's court of admiralty for having carried on an illicit trade.

NUMBER IV.

Extract of a letter from M. de la Jonquiere, governor of Canada, to M. Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia, dated at Quebec, April 2, 1750.

I Have acquainted the king, my maſter, with the orders I had given to the officers, to whom I gave the command of the ſaid poſts, not to ſuffer that any ſettlement ſhould be made there by any body whatſoever; and to oppoſe any ſuch attempt, by force of arms, after giving notice to thoſe who would fain give them any diſturbance, of what I have juſt now mentioned to you; however, without giving them orders as to any fortification, till ſuch time as the commiſſaries, who have been already named, have ſettled the boundaries of Acadia with New France. Theſe boundaries have never been ſettled yourſelves agree; whereas commiſſaries have been named for that purpoſe. It is on that account, that I am warranted, in ſending troops to guard the ſaid poſts, till the deciſion of the two crowns.

I hope you will reflect ſeriouſly, on what I mention to you. Nor, do I doubt, but

but you will acquaint the king your maſter with whatever paſſes. And, whereas you tell me, that till you receive his orders, you will do your duty: I alſo tell you beforehand, that I ſhall not be wanting in doing mine.

I have been juſt informed, that the Sieur Goram, has taken the Abbé Gerard, rector of Copequit, priſoner. *I* know not the reaſons, why ſuch a ſtep has been taken; but, as he is a ſubject of the king, my maſter, *I* deſire you will ſend him, without loſs of time, back to his country.

A MEMORIAL, containing complaints from England, and delivered to the Marquis de Puyſieulx the 7th of June, 1750, by my lord Albemarle,

THE underwritten ambaſſador, extraordinary and plenipotentiary, from his majeſty, the king of Great-Britain, has received orders from the king his maſter, dated Hanover, the 26th of laſt month, to repreſent to the court of France, how much he is ſurpriſed at hearing the violent proceedings of the French in America, under the authority and direction of M. de la Jonquiere, who has readily avowed them.

M. Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia, informs the duke of Bedford, by a letter dated the 1ſt of May of this year, that the French have taken poſſeſſion of all that part of Nova Scotia

Scotia beyond the bay of Fundi, (*a*) from the river Chignecto to that of St. John, making the firſt the limits of that province.

They have reduced Beaubaſſin to aſhes, and carried to the other ſide the river the inhabitants with their effects; (*b*) compelled them to take up arms, and formed them into companies; ſo that the ſieur Lacorne, a French officer has at that place under his command, a body of two thouſand, five hundred men, made up of regular troops, Canadians and Indians.

The ſieur de Lacorne and father Loutre, a French miſſionary, have made uſe of repeated and innumerable promiſes and menaces, in order to perſuade all the inhabitants of the province to leave the country (*c*).

The inhabitants declare openly their abhorrence of theſe proceedings; but the ſieurs de Lacorne and Loutre, threaten them with a general maſſacre from the *In-*

(*a*) They have not taken poſſeſſion of it: whereas by the confeſſion of the Engliſh, they were poſſeſſed of it, at the time of the treaty of Utrecht. But M. de la Jonquiere has ſent a detachment to prevent the Engliſh themſelves, from executing the project they had formed, in order to ſeize it.

(*b*) By Beaubaſſin is here underſtood, a French habitation, ſettled at Chignecto, which the French were under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing. To burn one's ſelf in the confuſion, and fright occaſioned by an invaſion cannot be reckoned a hoſtile act.

(*c*) How can this deſertion, of a country poſſeſſed by the French, be reconciled with the invaſion laid to their charge.

dians, if they remain in the province. They ſupport, and protect openly the Indians, our declared enemies. who enliſt under the banners of France. They detain the king's ſubjects, (*d*) his officers and ſoldiers, priſoners. They excite the king's French ſubjects to a rebellion; and thoſe who remain loyal, they threaten with deſtruction. They ſend their Indian ſlaves all over the country, where they are guilty of all ſorts of outrages.

They have ſet fire to the towns acknowledged by themſelves, to appertain to his majeſty.

Governor Cornwallis ſent the ſieur Laurence, major of foot, with a detachment to Chignecto; where he arrived the 20th of laſt April. They ſaw the French ſet fire (*e*) to the town of Chignecto, French colours planted on the ditches; and, the ſieur de la Corne at the head of his detachment, braving major Laurence; and declaring, that he would defend to the laſt, that ground as belonging to France.

The ſieur de Lacorne, having ſent to deſire a conference (*f*) with the ſieur Lawrence,

(*d*) The ambaſſador ſhould have named ſome, but he could not.

(*e*) There was no town in the Iſthmus; and the only fire was, that of ſome cabin's built at Chignecto, and which the Indians had ſet fire to, when they were obliged to fly together with the French, who were attacked by M. Cornwallis.

(*f*) If it was the ſieur de Lacorne that demanded the

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the latter, accompanied by two captains of foot, went to meet him, and demanded by whoſe orders he had thus come into his majeſty's territories and committed ſuch acts of violence. The ſieur de la Lacorne anſwered; it was by thoſe of M. de la Jonquiere, who had alſo commanded him to take poſſeſſion of Chippodi, John's river, Man-rem, Cooke, Pitcodiack, and of all that country, as far as the river, which was on the right hand of major Laurence, as belonging to his moſt chriſtian majeſty; or at leaſt, that he was to keep and defend it as ſuch, *(g)* till ſuch time as the limits were ſettled by commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe.

Thongh the ſieur Laurence had under his command a detachment of regular troops, very little inferior to that commanded by the ſieur Lacorne, he forebore committing any hoſtilities in obedience to the king's orders for that purpoſe. *(h)*

conference, it muſt be concluded, he did not come to attack. The ſieur Cornwallis was there before him. What was he come there for? Whereas, till then at leaſt, the country had been poſſeſſed by the French.

(g) That is the plain truth, to keep, and defend is not invading.

(h) Why did not theſe orders prevent his advancing ſo far? He acknowledges the ſieur de Lacorne's detachment, to have been ſuperior to his own; might not this detachment have been the cauſe of ſo much moderation? The marquis de la Jonquiere had then acted right, in ſending troops to oppoſe the invaſion.

The king cannot perſuade himſelf, that theſe acts of violence have been committed with the knowledge of the court of France, and he is ſo fully convinced of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's equity, and his deſire to maintain a good underſtanding between the two crowns, that he aſſures himſelf the moſt chriſtian king will readily ſhew his diſapprobation of ſuch conduct.

Governor Cornwallis has never made, nor deſigned to make any ſettlement *out of the limits of the peninſula* (*i*) which the French before, never pretended to belong to them: the king having had no intention, in forming a ſettlement in his province of Nova Scotia, to *encroach on the rights of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, or to take forcible poſſeſſion of a country, of which the king had referred the right of propriety to the deciſion of the commiſſaries appointed for that purpoſe; before it was poſſible for them to have met in order to proceed to the ſettling of the limits.*

The underwritten ambaſſador has ordres to demand that the conduct of M. de la Jonquiere be diſavowed: that poſitive orders be ſent him immediately to withdraw his troops and the Indians under his authority from the places which belong to Great Britain; that

(*i*) This is poſitive, and by the confeſſion of the Engliſh, they could at leaſt, make no innovation on the continent, before the deciſion of the commiſſaries. Have they waited for this deciſion?

amends be made for the acts of violence which have been committed, and the damage which the king's subjects have suffered: and his majesty is persuaded, that the court of France will make no difficulty, to give the underwritten ambassador the duplicate of the orders, which will be sent to the governor of Canada, that he may transmit them to his court. Done at Compeigne the 7th of July 1750.

Signed ALBEMARLE.

The Marquis de Puysieulx's *letter to my Lord* Albemarle, *by way of preliminary answer to the complaints abovementioned, till his majesty had received from* Canada *the particulars of the facts which had given occasion to them.*

Compiegne, June 23, 1756.

SIR,

IN the memorial which your excellency, has given me concerning the complaints of M. Cornwallis, governor of Acadia, are contained many facts: so contrary to the equity of his majesty, and the instructions of M. de la Jonquiere, that if they are found to be such as they are represented, the king will take care, justice shall be done to his Britannick majesty's subjects, and will give such fresh orders, as will prevent the rise of any dispute

of

of what kind ſoever, between the two nations; his majeſty being thoroughly perſuaded his Britannick majeſty will give, on his ſide, orders to the ſame purpoſe.

Give me leave, Sir, to tell you I cannot be prevailed upon to believe but that the facts are expoſed with too much exaggeration, and from my knowledge of M. de la Jonquiere's prudence, and the inſtructions which he has, I am ſorry M. Cornwallis has not applied to him for redreſs, before he had made complaints to his court. I ſent your memorial as ſoon as I received it to M. Rouillé, and deſired he would take the proper ſteps, to be informed in a ſpeedy and preciſe manner, of what has paſſed at Canada, ſo as I may be enabled to give your excellency a more poſitive anſwer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed PUYSIEULX.

P. S. Might not M. Cornwallis have attempted to form ſettlements on the places that are in diſpute, or even on the king's territories?

A letter wrote by M. Rouillé *to M.* de la Jonquiere, *a copy of which was given to my Lord* Albemarle *the* 15*th of* July 1750.

Sir, *Verſailles, July* 11, 1750.

I Send you here incloſed, the copy of a memorial which was delivered by the Ambaſſador of Great Britain, to the Marquis de

Puyſieulx. You will there ſee the complaints which the Britiſh court has exhibited concerning what has paſſed on the frontiers of Acadia and Canada. If any French have been guilty of the outrages mentioned in theſe complaints, they would deſerve puniſhment, and the king would make an example of them. 'Tis therefore his majeſty's deſire, that you ſearch into the truth of what has paſſed on this occaſion, with all poſſible exactneſs, and, that by the firſt opportunity you enable me to give him a particular account of the whole.

I am likewiſe, by the king's command, to remind you at the ſame time, of the orders which his majeſty has already given you ſeveral times, concerning the conduct which you are to obſerve with reſpect to the Engliſh; eſpecially in whatever relates to the boundaries of the reſpective colonies, till they have been finally ſettled. At the ſame time, that you maintain his juſt rights againſt all attempts made to ſubvert them, you are not to attempt yourſelf any thing that might be contrary to the rights of the Engliſh; you are to ſhew them all the regard, that is compatible with the honour of the nation, and the preſervation of its poſſeſſions; to take ſpecial care that the officers, whom you ſhall detach to the poſts that are in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh colonies, conduct themſelves on the ſame principles: and in ſhort, to avoid every thing that may give

any

any reaſonable ground of complaint againſt you. His Britannick majeſty muſt have, as I told you before, ordered his governors to behave in the ſame manner towards you. 'Tis to be hoped that every thing will paſs on both ſides agreeable to the views of their majeſties, towards maintaining the union between both nations. I ſtill repeat it, his majeſty recommends to you to do nothing that may diſturb it. I am, &c.

Signed Rouillé.

MEMORIAL in anſwer to the complaints of England, *and given the 15th of* Sept. *to my Lord* Albemarle *.

IN the anſwer to the memorial given at Compeigne, by the earl of Albemarle to the marquis de Puyſieulx, concerning the complaints exhibited by M. Cornwallis, governor of Acadia; notice has been taken of two things very material.

1. That with reſpect to the violent proceedings laid to the charge of the French officers by this governor, and to rely entirely on his expoſition alone, was not equitable: that his majeſty would cauſe an account to be given him of what had paſſed, and, if the facts complained of, ſhould prove true, his majeſty

* An exact account was received at that time of what had paſſed in America.

would

would not heſitate to have a due reparation made.

2. With regard to the principal object, relative to the limits, that his majeſty was going to renew the moſt poſitive orders to the marquis de la Jonquiere, that the French, of his government, do behave in every reſpect, in the manner that is moſt agreeable to the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between the two nations, and the intentions of his majeſty, towards eſtabliſhing it on a ſolid foundation: in hopes, that his Britannic majeſty would be pleaſed to give reciprocal orders to the governors of his colonies, that they would conduct themſelves on the ſame principles.

It was not poſſible as yet, to receive the verification which his majeſty has commanded to be made. But ſuch letters are received from the Marquis de la Jonquiere, and M. des Herbiers, who commands at l'Iſle Royal, as will enable the Britiſh miniſters to be themſelves judges, how far the obſervations, juſt now mentioned, have been grounded.

So early as the month of March, M. Cornwallis made preparations for a conſiderable armament, and he even ſent for that purpoſe to Boſton, to deſire a reinforcement of part of the militia of that colony.

Towards the month of April, he ſhipped on board ſeveral tranſports, under the convoy of the Albany of eighteen guns, ſome troops

troops with ſome field pieces, commanded by major Lawrence, in order to attack the chevalier de Lacorne, a captain in the troops of Canada, in the poſts which he held on the continent, to make themſelves maſters of the poſts, and compel the French inhabitants, and Indians, to ſubmit to the conditions, which he would think proper to impoſe on them.

The apparatus of this armament, and the menaces, which had preceded on the part of governor Cornwallis, who made no ſecret of his project, had provoked the reſentment of the ſavages, and alarmed the very inhabitants of ſome parts of Acadia, who were already frightened at the innovations and propoſals of this governor; to that pitch, that the veſſels having come to an anchor in a haven of the French bay, called Le Grand Marmgowin, and one of them having ſeparated from the reſt and advanced towards Beaubaſſin, the inhabitants of this place reſolved on abandoning the place, and the ſavages immediately ſet fire to it. This affair happened the 2d of May.

The ſame day major Lawrence landed the Engliſh troops at the point of Beauſejour on the continent: the captain of the coaſt went to ſpeak to them with a white flag; repreſented to them how theſe lands belonged to France, and that he had orders not to ſuffer them to remain there.

The

The Engliſh then deſired to ſpeak with the French commandant: the chevalier de Lacorne, who, having had an account of their march, was come to this place, deſired, of himſelf, to have a conference with the Engliſh commander. After ſome parleys among the ſubaltern officers, major Lawrence agreed to the conference, and the chevalier de Lacorne went half way to meet him.

The Engliſh commander expreſſed to the chevalier de Lacorne, his ſurpriſe at the fire of Beaubaſſin, and at finding the French on Engliſh territories: and that he had orders from general Cornwallis to deſire he would evacuate the place, and that it was acting in a manner contrary to the law of nations and good faith, to come on theſe grounds and to perſuade the Indians to make war on the Engliſh.

The French commandant's anſwer to major Lawrence was, that he ought not to be ſurpriſed at finding him in the poſts which he held, inaſmuch as M. de la Jonquiere had acquainted M. Cornwallis with it; that it was without any foundation he laid the motions of the Acadians to his charge, in which he had no more ſhare than in the fire of Beaubaſſin, of which the ſavages only were the authors. As for the reſt, he had orders to ſuffer no deſcent to be made on this coaſt which belonged to France, and to repel force by force.

Upon

Upon this the two commanders parted, and major Lawrence immediately made a ſignal to his troop to reimbark, which was executed.

Such are the exact particulars of what paſſed in this adventure, on the occaſion of which M. Cornwallis thought proper to be the firſt to make complaints. They agree with what he has himſelf ſaid concerning the march of his troops: but it reſults therefrom, that the French have not entered the peninſula of Acadia as it had been advanced; that they have had no ſhare in the exceſſes committed by the Savages, or in the motions of the Acadians; that M. Cornwallis ought to aſcribe them ſolely to the conduct which he obſerved towards both people, and that it is with great injuſtice he lays them to the charge of the French.

What is here advanced in relation to the conduct of that governor, they are not ignorant of in London; the relation of it having been made public there.

The diſpoſitions and object of M. Cornwallis's armament were inſerted in the Gazette of Boſton in New England, where it was conſidered as an act of hoſtility on his part.

Letters from Halliſax, containing not only a detail of all the preparations made for this expedition, but alſo the circumſtances of an adventure which had preceded in the interior part

of the peninſula between ſome of the Engliſh troops and ſome of the Savages, appeared in print in London, the 26th of laſt Auguſt.

Theſe very letters are an evidence of general Cornwallis's acting as in an open and declared war againſt the Savages, againſt the inhabitants of his government, and even againſt the French, who are the king's ſubjects.

'Tis moreover known it was a genera! report in that country, that the ſame governor was to form more enterprizes. And from a letter which he wrote the marquis de la Jonquiere the 5th of May, O. S. of which a copy is here annexed, 'tis plain his diſpoſitions were far from being peaceable.

The king is entitled to expect from the juſtice of his Britannick majeſty, that he will be pleaſed to give directions that M. Cornwallis do behave himſelf with more moderation, and in a manner that is agreeable to the intention of the two crowns, ſo as peace may be maintained, and that he will not ſuffer him to indulge himſelf in acts of violence ſo contrary to the ſtipulations of the treaties of Utrecht, of Aix la Chapelle, and to the ſpirit of the commiſſion eſtabliſhed at Paris.

The king reiterates his aſſurances in this place, that if his officers were guilty of enterpriſes of this nature, ſo long as they ſhall not be compelled to it in order to repel force by force, his majeſty would not heſitate a moment to puniſh them

them in an exemplary manner. He has cauſed his intentions on this head, to be both explained and renewed to them, in ſuch a manner that they will be certainly obeyed: It may be alſo depended on, that in their intercourſe with the officers of his Britannic majeſty, they will never fall into ſuch declamations as would not be allowable, even in the bloodieſt war.

It is left to his Britannic majeſty, to judge of the ſtyle of M. Cornwallis's letter to M. de la Jonquiere, Dated HALIFAX, *May* 5, (*O. S.*)

We ſhall conclude with obſerving that M. de la Jonquiere, on reception of the king's orders, which were exchanged laſt year with thoſe of the king of Great-Britain, for the exchange of priſoners, has immediately cauſed all thoſe who were in his power, to be put into the hands of an *Engliſh* officer, belonging to the government of New-York, and given the moſt peremptory orders throughout all his government to make the ranſom of the priſoners, who were among the ſavages, as eaſy as poſſible to the Engliſh. In order to theſe operations, he has not even waited to have the ſureties which he would have been entitled to require of the Engliſh governors. And from thence, the Britiſh miniſtry may form a judgment of the French

governor's private diſpoſitions, and of the orders which have been given him in every thing relating to the union of both nations.

'Twas hoped, the Engliſh governors would have acted with the ſame good Faith, and the ſame exactneſs, in ſending back the French priſoners; and, it is not doubted, but the court of England, will at all events, think proper to give freſh orders, relative thereto, to prevent all complaints on this ſubject hereafter.

NUMBER V.

Extract of the interrogatories of the four Engliſh *traders, taken upon the territories of* France *.

IN the year 1751, and the 19th of the month of June, before Noon, in the preſence of us, the Marquis de la Jonquiere commander of the Royal and Military order of St. Lewis, Chef d'Eſcadre of the naval forces, governor and lieutenant general for the king, of all New-France, Iſle Royal, and its appendages, lands, and countries of Louiſiana; being preſent, the baron de Longueil, governor of the city and government of Montreal, and M. Varin, commiſſary of the

* Theſe interrogatories prove that the governor of Philadelphia uſed to give to the Engliſh traders, miſſions to traffick on the French territories, and that he had an emiſſary who was charged to make preſents to the ſavages of theſe territories, in order to excite them to a war.

marine,

marine, and head-magiſtrate of the ſame city; in our cabinet at the caſtle of Vandreuil, where we live, in the ſaid city of Montreal.

We have cauſed to be brought before us, four Engliſhmen, &c.——— Being aſſiſted by Daniel Joſeph Maddox an Engliſh intrepreter, duly ſworn, maintained by the king, in order to ſerve us in the ſaid capacity, whom we have ſent for, in order to interpret the interrogatories; which we are going to make to the ſaid Engliſh, and their Anſwers. To which we have proceeded ſeverally, in the following manner.

1. Came before us an Engliſhman, to whom we gave to underſtand by the means of the ſaid Maddox, that we required his oath to ſay the truth, which he took immediately, laying his hand on his breaſt, according to the laws and uſages of Great-Britain, by which he promiſed, and ſwore he would ſpeak the truth.

Called upon to declare his name, ſirname, age, profeſſion, town of his birth, of his reſidence; and, on what government it depends.

Anſwered, That his name was Luke Irwin, 28 years of age, that he is a travelling merchant, a native of Ireland, an inhabitant of Philadelphia, government of Pennſylvania.

1. Being aſked how long he has been away from Pennſylvania, where he went when he ſet out from thence, and where he propoſed to have gone to?

Anſwered,

Anſwered, That he does not preciſely remember the day of his departure, but that it was in the month of Auguſt, of the laſt year; that he went firſt to the village of the Chavanous on the fair river.

2. Being aſked in whoſe company he was when he left Penſylvania, and what was his deſign, &c.

Anſwered, That he was in company with two Engliſh merchants, and ſix indented ſervitors of the ſame nation, in order to carry the goods, which they were ſupplied with, to the ſavage nations; and, that their deſign was, to get rid of them immediately, in order to make their whole returns in furs——That he had a printed licence from James Hambleton, governor of Philadelphia; to trade generally every-where among the friendly Indians for which he had paid fifty ſhillings to the ſaid governor, &c.

3. Being aſked, whether it be not true, that he dealt his ſaid goods to the ſavage nations, who have taken refuge on the Fair river, la Roche river, and in the neighbourhood? Whether he has given them at a low price, perſuaded them they were finer, and much cheaper than thoſe of the French? And how long he has carried on this traffick with theſe nations.

Anſwered, That he dealt his goods to the ſavage nations on the Fair river, la Roche river and every where elſe he met with Indians

dians. That he has let them have his commodities very cheap in exchange for their furs; that he has not depreciated the French goods, but that the ſavages themſelves make a great difference between them.

4. Aſked, Whether it be not true, that the foregoing years and this, he has carried, by order of the governor of Philadelphia, and at the expence of the province, meſſages, ſtrings of wampum, Engliſh flags and hatchets to the ſaid ſavage nations, together with conſiderable preſents, and a quantity of rum, in order to induce them to acknowledge none but the Engliſh, to inſpire them with ſentiments of hatred towards the French, and influence them to their deſtruction: promiſing them for that purpoſe, a ſum of money for each French ſcalp: If it be not likewiſe true, that he ſpoke the Chevanon language, Chavaguaronne, or the language of the Iroquois, another language of the nations on the White river, and ſeveral others: and if in conſideration of this, the ſaid governor has not ſent him to the Fair river, la Roche river, and other places; in order to execute his ſchemes.

Anſwered, That he has carried to the ſavage nations, ſome *wampum*, *hatchets*, and rum to entertain them with. But, that he has not carried them from the governor, either meſages, ſtrings of wampum, hatchets, or preſents, or rum. That this governor, in order

order *to carry his meſſages to the nations, makes uſe of the ſieur George Crocquen, merchant, who is his grand interpreter*; who has always with him a Frenchman, called Andrew Montour, by origin a Canadian, as he heard it ſaid; who attends him in his progreſs, among all the ſavages, whoſe languages he ſpeaks to perfection; that he is ignorant as to the ſaid Crocquen's being now among the Indians; but *he knows, that he was not to delay ſetting out after himſelf, by order of the governor, to carry a meſſage to the Micmacs, and all the other nations:* That his being deputed, was owing to * the Micmacs having been laſt year, with the ſaid Crocquen at Veſkak, where he has a houſe, with ſixteen other merchants, in order to deſire that he would receive them. And that the ſaid Montour was going to aſſure theſe nations, on behalf of the ſaid governor, that they ſhould meet with a good reception from the Engliſh. That he could not ſay whether the orders of this governor were to influence theſe nations to the deſtruction of the French, becauſe when he came away, the Micmacs were not then arrived at Philadelphia; and that nothing had tranſpired: that he talks Chavanon, Chavagaronne, and ſeveral other Indian languages, but that he has not been choſen to be the bearer of the governor's meſſage.

5. Aſked, &c.

* The depoſition of the fourth witneſs, proves the falſity of this excuſe.

6. Aſked if it is not true, that he was on the Fair river with a number of Engliſh traders, during the campaign made by M. de Celoron, now major and commandant of the Streight, in the year 1749; by the order of the marquis de la Galiſſioniere, commander in chief of all New France, and its dependencies; that they were ſummoned to withdraw from the territories of the king our maſter: that they were forbidden to return there; and that the ſaid ſieur de Celoron wrote a letter to the governor of Philadelphia, to acquaint him what he had done; and to warn him, that if Engliſh traders ſhould re-appear on the king's territories, he would not be anſwerable to him for the conſequences.

Anſwered, that he heard mention made of the campaign of M. Celoron on the Fair River, the prohibitions which he made to the Engliſh traders, and the letter he wrote to the governor of Philadelphia. But that he did not think himſelf obliged to conform to theſe prohibitions, and that he conformed himſelf to the terms of the permiſſion which was given him by his governor.

Lecture was made to the ſaid Luke Irwin of the preſent interrogatories, &c.

Came before us an Engliſhman, whom we cauſed to be informed by the ſaid Maddox, that we required his oath to ſpeak the truth, which he immediately took, his hand being

on his breaſt according to the laws and uſages of Great Britain, by which he promiſed and ſwore he would ſpeak the truth.

Called upon to tell us his name, ſurname, age, profeſſion, the town he was born in, that of his reſidence, and to what government, it belonged.

Anſwered, his name to be Joſeph Fortiner, his age 26, that he was a hired ſervant, a traveller, born in and an inhabitant of the town of Gergé, belonging to the government of New York.

Interrogated on the firſt interrogatory, which was read to him word for word.

Anſwered, that he has been abſent from Gerge theſe four years paſt; that he has kept the moſt part of the time in the woods: that in the winter he uſed to retire to the village of Scaniris belonging to the government of Philadelphia; that he has been with the Chevanons of the Fair River, and wherever he could carry on a trade with the Indian natives.

Interrogated on the ſecond interrogatory which was read to him word for word.

Anſwered, that he came out with Michael Teſte with an intent to trade with the ſavages; that he hired himſelf to the ſaid Teſte, in order to help him to carry down his goods with his horſes. That he and the other Engliſhmen who have been taken, burnt their bills of parcels; that he cannot therefore tell us to what value his amounted in goods; that he had them from

the

the ſame man that ſupplied Luke Irwin ; that he *had a licence from the governor of Philadelphia*, which he left in his cabin in the villages belonging to the nations, called in Engliſh *Vendack*, ſituated near the Chevanons.

Being interrogated on the third interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Anſwered, that he dealt his merchandizes to the nations who have taken refuge on the Fair River, and in the neighbourhood ; that he never offerred to depreciate the Frenh goods in the preſence of the ſavages, but that they ſaid they preferred dealing with the Engliſh, becauſe their goods were more beautiful and cheaper than thoſe of the French ; that he has been but four years, as he told us, carrying on a trade with theſe nations.

Being examined on the eighth interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Anſwered, that in 1749 he was at the village of Seſkina belonging to the government of Philadelphia, where he heard mention made of M. de Celoron's campaign on the Fair River, and that he has no knowledge of what relates further to the ſaid interrogatory.

Lecture being made to the ſaid Joſeph Fortiner of the preſent interrogatories and his anſwers, &c.

Came before us an Engliſhman, to whom we gave to underſtand, by means of the ſaid Maddox, that we required his oath to ſpeak the truth, which oath he took, &c.

Called

Called upon to tell his name, &c.

Anſwered, that his name is Thomas Bourke, his age 23, that he is a traveller, a native of Cork in Ireland, and an inhabitant of the village of Leingueſter near Philadelphia.

Interrogated on the firſt interrogatory, which was read to him word for word.

Anſwered, that it is almoſt eight years ſince he came out of Ireland, that he has been away from his village only theſe ten months paſt; that he was hired to John Martin, an Engliſh trader on the Fair River, that he ſet out with two more ſervitors to go and trade, at three leagues from Otſendoſket, and that from thence he had propoſed to return home to Leingueſter.

Examined on the ſecond interrogatory.

Anſwered, that his company conſiſted only of the two Engliſhmen, of whom he has juſt made mention; that the goods he had, including the horſes, might have been computed worth 1500 livres; that he had left the whole at a ſmall river, about two leagues from where the Father de la Richardie has wintered in the keeping of two Engliſhmen who ran away, leaving all behind them the moment they were informed of their arreſt: that theſe goods belonged to the ſaid Martin, who had bought them of two different merchants at Philadelphia, the name of one of whom is Chippé, *that he had a permiſſion from the governor of Phila-*

Philadelphia, and that he has left it at the abovementioned river, with the goods.

Examined on the eighth interrogatory, &c.

Anſwered, that he has had knowledge of M. de Celoron's campaign on the Fair River, and the letter which he wrote the governor of Philadelphia; that it was given to the ſervitors of George Crocquen firſt interpreter, but that he knows not whether it has been delivered.

Lecture being made to the ſaid Thomas Bourke of the preſent interrogatories, with his anſwers, &c.

Came before us an Engliſhman, who after having made oath, &c.

Called upon to tell us his name, ſurname, age, &c.

Anſwered, that his name is George Pathon, that he is 20 years of age, a merchant trading with the Indians, a native and inhabitant of Wellenſthon, in the government of Philadelphia.

Interrogated on the firſt interrogatory which was read to him word for word.

Anſwered, that he ſet out from Willenſthon the 24th of Auguſt of laſt year, Engliſh ſtyle, that he went to the Micmacs on La Roche river, thirty leagues from the fort of the Micmacs, as he thinks, with an intent to trade with theſe ſavages.

Examined on the ſecond interrogatory which was read him word for word.

Anſwered, That he had two ſervants with him, and was in the company of an Engliſh merchant,

merchant, who had five. That they all came together to the river of la Roche, where they met with fifty Engliſh merchants or ſervitors, lodged in the cabins of the Micmacs, the chief of which is called the *Damſel*; that theſe cabins are in a fort; that he had to the amount of ſeven thouſand livres worth of goods, and that he came out provided with a permiſſion from the governor of Philadelphia * for which he was made to pay a piſtole. This permiſſion he left behind him in his box in his cabin at the ſaid Micmacs.

Interrogated on the third interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Anſwered, that he dealt out his goods to the Indians, who have taken refuge on the Fair river, la Roche river, and the parts adjacent. That it was the firſt time of his going to la Roche river; that he carried on his trade, exhibiting his merchandize, and agreeing about the price with the ſavages, without any intent to depreciate the French goods.

* With regard to theſe permiſſion, it is neceſſary to remind our readers, that they are ſo many infringements of the laws of trade founded on the treaties. The ſavages having no territory, may freely trade in all the countries, Engliſh as well as French, as to the European nations, none can trade with the ſavages, but on its own territory. Theſe letters of the Engliſh governor's, given to traders, authoriſing them to trade in the countries which France is in poſſeſſion of, are therefore, ſo many encroachments; theſe Engliſh traders carried on a ſheer counterband trade, by the permiſſion of their governor.

Inter-

Interrogated on the fourth interrogatory, which was read him word for word.

Anſwered, that he has only heard it ſaid, 'That the governor of Philadelphia had given 'into the hands of George Crocquen, great 'interpreter, merchandizes to the value of 'about a thouſand piſtoles for the ſavages.' That he ranges the woods in company with the ſaid Mantour, a French Canadian, in order to diſpoſe of them to the refugee nations of the Fair river and that of la Roche, and in particular to the Micmacs; and that he can ſay nothing further as to the other facts contained in the ſaid interrogatory: denies his underſtanding any ſavage language.

Aſked, if it be not true that he has been arreſted in the fort of the Micmacs by order of M. de Villiers, who commands at the ſaid fort; and that he went thither with an intent to diſpoſe of his merchandize.

Anſwered, that he went to the fort of the Micmacs, upon the ſavages telling him the French would be glad to ſee him; that he was ſurpriſed at being arreſted in the ſaid fort; that he wanted to purchaſe there a gun and ſome tobacco, and that he, on that account had brought with him five ſilk caps, a piece of common holland, and twelve ſilk handkerchiefs; and that the whole was ſeized by the ſieur de Villiers, as alſo his horſe; that his boots and portmanteau, where his cloaths were, was left in an Indian cabbin, from whence

whence they were to have been ſent to him, to the Detroit; but, that ſince he has had no account of them: he further ſays, that another horſe of his, mounted by a ſavage, who ſerved him by way of guide; was alſo ſeized.

Aſked, if it be not true, that when he determined to go to the French fort of the Micmacs, he made preſents: or, that preſents were made by ſome body, to the Refugee nations of the Fair river, or river la Roche; in order to extract a promiſe from them, that if he was attacked, or ſtopped, they would take vengeance for it.

Anſwered, and denied the ſaid interrogatory, in all its contents.

Interrogated if it be not true, that the goods, which were ſeized at la Croix, within twenty leagues of the fort of the Micmacs, belonged to him; and that they are the ſame that are mentioned in the verbal proceſs of the ſieur Montigny, an officer, dated the 2d of December, 1750, of which we cauſed lecture to be made to him.

Anſwered, that he left his goods at la Croix, that he acknowledges thoſe mentioned in the verbal proceſs to be of the ſame ſort with his, but in a much leſs quantity; that for the reſt, he does not know whether his ſervitors have carried off the reſt, when they ran away, or what is become of them

Interrogated on the eighth interrogatory which was read to him word for word.

Anſwered,

Anſwered, that he was not at the Fair river in 1749, but that he heard mention made of M. Celoron's campaign on that river in the ſame year; and the prohibitions he made to the Engliſh traders. That he alſo heard, the ſaid Celoron wrote to the governor of Philadelphia on that occaſion; but that he heard at the ſame time that this letter was not delivered to him; that the aforenamed Crocquen interpreter-general tore it, in order to conceal the knowledge of it from him, and to prevent his making any inhibitions in conquence thereof.

Lecture being made to John Patton of the preſent interrogatories and his anſwers, and being called upon to declare if he will alter, retrench from, or add to his anſwers; ſays they contain the truth, that he adheres to them; but notwithſtanding adds that the ſaid interpreter-general Crocquen, has at all times endeavoured to influence the Indians to the deſtruction of the French; and that at laſt by the dint of preſents he ſucceeded in procuring the maſſacre of five of them in the upper countries; that all theſe ſteps were interreſted and taken with a view to engroſs the whole trade, and that the French might be deterred from trading with the Indians. That with regard to the letters which M. de Celeron wrote to the governor of Philadelphia, three of them were intercepted by the ſaid Crocquen: leſt if he came to the knowledge of all his pro-

ceedings * he ſhould not ſuffer him to go among the Savages, and has ſigned with us at every page. As alſo M. the baron de Longueil, M. Varin, the ſaid Maddox, interpreter, and our ſecretary. Thus have ſigned John Patton D. J. Maddox, la Jonquiere, Longueil, Varin, and St Saveur, ſecretary.

NUMBER VI.

Warning ſent by the order of M. de Contrecœur captain of one of the Independent companies of the Marine detachment; commander in chief of his majeſty's troops on the fair River, to the commandant of thoſe of the King of Great Britain, and carried by M. le Mercier, April 16, 1754.

SIR,

NOthing can equal the ſurpriſe I am in at your attempting a Settlement on the territories of the king my maſter; and this is what induces me to depute to you, the chevalier le Mercier captain of canoniers, bombardiers, commandant of the artillery of Canada; that I may be informed by yourſelf Sir, by virtue of what order you are come to fortify yourſelf on the dominions of the king my maſter. This procedure ap-

* This has been added, in order to juſtify the governor, it has been ſeen higher that this gentleman had given to the value of a thouſand piſtoles of merchandize to Crocquen, to be diſtributed among the Savages.

pears

pears to me to be ſo contrary to the treaty of peace concluded at Aix-la-chapelle, between his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the king of Great Britain; that I am at a loſs to whoſe charge I am to lay ſuch an uſurpation, as the lands ſituated along the Fair river belong inconteſtibly to the moſt Chriſtian king.

Sir, I have been aſſured, that your encroachment has been concerted only by a company which had more the intereſts of its trade in view, than the preſervation of the union and harmony that ſubſiſt between the two crowns, of France and Great Britain: although the preſervation of it be of as much importance, to your nation as it is to ours.

Sir, Be that as it may, if you are come here provided with orders, I give you this warnihg, in the name of the king my maſter, by virtue of the orders which I have from my general for that purpoſe; to withdraw peaceably with your troops from the king's territories; and not to return; otherwiſe my duty will oblige me to compel you thereto. I hope ſir, you will not defer an inſtant to comply with this, (and that you will not lay me under the neceſſity of coming to the laſt extremeties;) in which caſe ſir, you may be aſſured I will give orders that no harm ſhall be done you by my detachment.

I am to tell you beforehand ſir, that it will be in vain to requeſt an hour's delay, or that I will conſent to your waiting for the

orders of your governor; he has none to give on the dominions of the king my maſter. Thoſe which I have received from my general are the rule I muſt conduct myſelf by; and which I muſt not deviate from.

If on the contrary it ſhould ſo happen that you have no orders, and that you are come only to trade: I am ſorry I muſt tell you, that I ſhall be under a neceſſity of ſeizing you, and confiſcating your goods to the profit of the Savages, our children, allies and friends, as you have no right to carry on any contraband trade.

This was the reaſon ſir, why we arreſted laſt year two Engliſhmen who traded on our territories. As for the reſt, my maſter inſiſts only on what is his right; his intention is, in no ways to diſturb the good harmony and the friendſhip, which ſubſiſt between his majeſty and the king of Great Britain.

The general of Canada can give proofs of his concurrence, in the preſervation of the perfect union which ſubſiſts between theſe two friendly princes; inaſmuch as being informed, that ſome Iroquois and Nepiſſingues of the lake of the two mountains, had ſtruck and deſtroyed an Engliſh family towards Carolina: he cauſed the paſſage to be ſtopped, and compelled them to ſurrender him a little boy of this family, who was the only living one of it; and M. Ulrick, who was then

charged

charged with a negotiation at Montreal, brought him with him back to Boſton.

He has moreover, forbidden the Savages to practice their uſual barbarities on the Engliſh with whom we are in friendſhip.

Sir, I might make uſe of bitter complaints, againſt the inſtigations employed all laſt winter to prevail on the Savages to take up the hatchet and ſtrike us, while we make it our ſtudy to preſerve peace,

I am well aware ſir, of the polite manner with which you will receive M. le Mercier, as well on account of his errand as his diſtinction and perſonal merit. I expect you will ſend him back to me with one of your officers, who is to bring me a preciſe anſwer, ſigned by yourſelf.

As you have ſome Savages with you ſir, I have ſent along with M. le Mercier, an interpreter, that they may be made acquainted with my intentions in regard to them.

I am, &c.

Done in the camp,
April 16, 1754.

Signed

CONTRECOEUR.

NUMB-

NUMBER VII.

A Copy of the orders given to M. de Jumonville by M. Contrecœur, May 23, 1754.

WE, captain of the company of a detachment of the marine, commander in chief of the party on the Fair river; the forts of du Queſne, preſque Iſle, and the river Beeves.

The ſieur de Jumonville, enſign in the troops, is hereby commanded to ſet out immediately with an officer, three cadets, a volunteer, an Engliſh interpreter, and twenty-eight men; and proceed to reconnoitre till he comes to the highlands. He is to follow the courſe of the river Mononghela in wheel-carriages till he comes to the carthouſe: after this he is to march till ſuch time as he ſhall find out the road, communicating with that which is ſaid to have been made by the Engliſh.

The Savages give out that the Engliſh are marching to attack us, which we cannot give credit to, we being in peace. But if contrary to expectation it ſhould ſo happen, that the ſieur de Jumonville diſcovered any motions the Engliſh were making on the lands belonging to the king's dominions; he is to repair thither, and deliver them the meſſage which we commit to his charge.

We

We command him in ſuch caſe to diſpatch to us before he delivers his warning a quick runner, to acquaint us with what he has diſcovered; the day he expects to deliver the meſſage, and as ſoon as he has delivered it to make what haſte he poſſibly can to bring us the anſwer.

If the ſieur de Jumonville ſhould hear it reported that the Engliſh are going to the other ſide of the mountain * he is not to proceed beyond the high grounds, it not being our intention to diſturb them; and being deſirous to preſerve the union ſubſiſting between the two crowns.

We recommend to the ſieur de Jumonville that he will be on his guard againſt all ſurpriſe, as well from the Savages as the Engliſh. If he ſhould meet with any Savages, he is to tell them he is walking out to ſee what paſſes on the king's territories, and inform himſelf of the different roads, and he is to give them inſtances of friendſhip.

Done at the camp at fort du Queſne, May 23, 1754.

Signed

CONTRECOEUR.

A copy of the warning of which M. de Jumonville was bearer.

* The Apalachean Mountains.

Warning

Warning which the ſieur de Jumonville, officer of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's troops will give to the commandant of the Engliſh troops, if he do meet with any on the lands belonging to the king's dominion.

SIR,

I HAVE been already informed by the ſavages, that you were advancing openly with an armed body of forces into the king's territories. Although I could not give any credit to ſuch a report, yet as I ought not to neglect any means whereby I may be rightly informed, I detach the ſieur de Jumonville, that he may ſee if there be any ſuch thing, and in caſe he do meet with you on the king's territories, that he may warn you in the king's name, and by virtue of the orders which I have for that purpoſe from my general, to retire peaceably with your troops; otherwiſe you will lay me, ſir, under the neceſſity of compelling you thereto, and uſing all the means for that purpoſe, which ſhall appear moſt effectual, and conſiſtent with the honour of the king's arms. The ſale of the lands of the Fair river gives you ſo ſorry a title that I ſhall be obliged, ſir, to repell force by force.

I muſt tell you beforehand, that if after this warning which is the laſt *I* ſhall give you,

you, any act of hoſtility ſhall enſue, you muſt be reſponſible for it: It being our intention to preſerve the union which ſubſiſts between two princes in friendſhip. Whatever be your deſigns, ſir, I flatter myſelf you will give M. de Jumonville all the inſtances of regard which this officer deſerves, and that you will ſend him back to me immediately that I may be informed of your intentions. I am, &c.

At the camp of
fort du Queſne,
May 23, 1754.

Signed *Contrecœur*.

A letter wrote by M. de Contrecœur *the 2d of* June 1754, *to the Marquis* du Queſne.

Sir,

SINCE the letter which *I* had the honour to write you the 30th of laſt May, wherein *I* told you that *I* expected M. de Jumonville within four days: I have been juſt informed that this party has been taken and cut off to the number of eight men, of whom, according to the report of the Indians, M. de Jumonville is one. One Monceau, a Canadian, who has made his eſcape, ſays, that in order to ſhelter themſelves from the heavy rains, they built themſelves cabins, where they lay the whole night. The next morning, about ſeven o'clock, they ſaw themſelves ſurrounded by ſome Engliſh on one ſide, and

ſavages on the other: they received from the Engliſh two diſcharges, from the ſavages none. M. de Jumonville deſired, by the help of an interpreter, that they would give over firing, as he had ſomething to ſay to them. They gave over; upon which M. de Jumonville cauſed the warning to be read to them, which I cauſed to be drawn up in order that they might withdraw, and of which I have the honour to ſend you a copy. While it was reading, the ſaid Monceau ſaw all our people coming cloſe to M. Jumonville, ſo as to form a plattoon between the Engliſh and the ſavages. Monceau took this opportunity to get off, and to make the beſt of his way through the woods, and thus arrived partly by land and the reſt in a little canoe on Mononghela river.

This is, ſir, all I could learn from *Monceau*. The misfortune is, that our people have been ſurpriſed the Engliſh had diſcovered them, and were upon them before our people had ſeen them.

I receive this inſtant, ſir, a letter from M. de la Chavegnerie, which *I* have the honour to ſend you, you will ſee by it, that we have certainly loſt eight men, of whom M. de Jumonville is one. The ſavages, who were preſent at this action, ſay that he was killed while he liſtened to the reading of the *warning*. He was ſhot in the head; after which they proceeded to ſtrike: intending to deſtroy all our people. The ſavages, who were preſent, threw

threw themſelves between, and ſtopped the Engliſh; otherwiſe they had all been cut off. Meſſ. Drouillon and la Force, are made priſoners. We are not yet informed whether Meſſ. de Boucherville and du Sable, both cadets, are of the number of the eight who have been ſlain. This is the account which we had from the ſavages.

I believe, ſir, you will be ſurpriſed at the baſe proceedings of the Engliſh, to lay violent hands on ambaſſadors to aſſaſſinate them, is what has been never known among the leaſt civilized nations. The nations are ſo much provoked at it, that they have deſired my leave to ſtrike the Engliſh. My great comerade is a *Goyogwin* chief, whom *I* ſent to hold a council in his village upon the blow which has been given us.

There is no doubt but the Engliſh are in march with an army of five thouſand men according to the report of the ſavages, who alſo aſſure, that their vanguard is always compoſed of ſix hundred men, and that they are making a great road for the eaſier tranſporting of their heavy cannon. As *I* have certain advice of the Engliſh being on their march, *I* write word to M. Pean, to uſe all poſſible ſpeed in bringing up the proviſions; and in the mean time to ſend us three hundred men, either by land or water. *I* alſo write to M. de Carqueville, in caſe M. Pean be not at Tiadokouin,

to come with the ſame number of men that I deſire of M. Pean.

Had I omitted procuring this intelligence, which unfortunately coſt our people their liberty and lives, the Engliſh would have made their approaches without being diſcovered; whereas now we caution ourſelves againſt any thing that may happen. We are told the main body is ſtill at a diſtance, and that they will take up at leaſt a moon to arrive here. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid that they fortify Tanariſſon, towards the ſource of Mononghela river. This is the diſcourſe of the ſavages, who alſo give out, that the Engliſh have ten *Chicachas*; thirty *flat-heads* of thoſe who are neareſt to their colonies, and an hundred men of the nation of *Dogs*, all enemies to the nations on this river, who are greatly exaſperated at it.

Tis ſaid, the Engliſh deſign to come and build a fort, a bout half a league above us, another at a good half league below us, that is to ſay, at the little rock; and a third at fifteen or twenty acres from this place, along the river Mononghela, on the ſame ſide with us.

I will do myſelf the honour to acquaint you, with every thing that ſhall happen, as often as I am able, &c.

NUMBER

NUMBER VIII.

Major Waſhington's Journal.

THE 31ſt of March I received a commiſſion from his excellency the governor *(a)* dated the 15th, appointing me to be lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Virginia, of which Joſhua Fry, eſq; is colonel, with directions to take the troops, then quartered at Alexandria, under my command, and to lead them on to the Ohio, in order to aſſiſt captain Trent in erecting forts, and defending the poſſeſſions of his Majeſty againſt the encroachments *(b)* and hoſtilities of the French.

2d April. Every thing being got ready agreeable to our orders, we began our march with the companies of foot commanded by captain Peter Hog, and captain lieutenant Jacob Vembraan, five ſubaltern officers, two ſerjeants, ſix corporals, a drummer, and an hundred and twenty ſoldiers; a ſerjeant-major, a Swediſh gentleman voluntier, two waggons, guarded by a lieutenant, a ſerjeant, a corporal, and twenty-five men.

(a) M. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia.

(b) Theſe encroachments, &c. conſiſted in defending this country againſt the invaſion of the Engliſh, and in ſummoning theſe people to retire.

We

We ſet out from the town on Tueſday at noon, and we encamped about four miles from Cameron, after having marched ſix miles.

From the 3d of April till the 19th of the ſame month, this journal contains only the march of the troops, and the junction of a detachment brought by capt. Stephens.

The 19th we met an expreſs, who was charged with letters from capt. Trent on the Ohio, requiring that a reinforcement might be ſent him with all the expedition poſſible, he having had notice that a body of eight hundred French was hourly expected. I waited at Job Pearſal's for the troops, which came up the next day. On receiving the expreſs above-mentioned, I diſpatched a courier to colonel Fry, in order to give him notice thereof.

The 20th I went down to colonel Creſan's, where I diſpoſed the detachment in a proper order; and in my way I was informed of the fort's being taken by the French. This news was confirmed, two days after, by captain Trent's enſign, M. Wart, who was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to a body of above a thouſand French, under the command of captain Contrecœur, who was come from Venango (in French the Freſq iſle) with ſixty battoes three hundred canoes, and eighteen pieces of artillery, which were erected into a battery facing the fort, and then ſummoned him to withdraw.

M. Wart

M. Wart informed me likewiſe, that the ſavages perſiſted on their firm attachment to our intereſts. He had brought with him two young men of the Mingo nation, that they might have the ſatisfaction to ſee that we were marching with troops to their aſſiſtance.

He alſo delivered me the following meſſage, which was ſent me by the Half King *(c)*. *April* 18, 1754, *at the fort of the Ohio.*

The Half-King's ſpeech. A belt for the governor of Virginia *and* Penſylvania.

BRothers, the Engliſh, the bearer will let you know how we have been uſed by the French. We expected a long while they would come and ſtrike us; we now ſee how they propoſe to behave towards us *(d)*; we are ready to ſtrike them even this moment; and we wait only for your aſſiſtance. Take courage and come as *ſoon as 'tis poſſible*, and *you will find us* as well *diſpoſed* to *ſtrike them* as *you are yourſelves.*

(c) This is an Indian chief, on whom the Engliſh had conferred this title of Half King, and whom they greatly animated againſt the French.

(d) This is a confeſſion with a witneſs, of the goodneſs with which the French treated the rebell ſavages. Theſe expected to be proſecuted: aſtoniſhed at the indulgence of the French, they form a proſpect of attacking them, and communicate this reſolution to the Engliſh.

We

We have ſent theſe two young men in order to ſee if you are ready to come; and in that caſe they will return to us, and we will give notice where you are; that we may have it in our power to join you, we could wiſh, if poſſible, that the troops of the two provinces met at the fort on the road. If you don't come to our aſſiſtance now, we are utterly undone: and I believe we ſhall never more be able to come together. I ſpeak it in the deepeſt concern of my heart.

A ſtring of Wampum.

The Half-King addreſſed this ſpeech to me in perſon.

I am ready, if you think it proper to go with theſe two young men to the two governors; for I can no longer rely on thoſe who have ſo long been gone and are not returned, nor have ſent any meſſage.

A ſtring.

April 23. A council was held at Will's Creek, in order to concert meaſures relative to the news brought by M. Wart.

Examination being made of the news brought by enſign Wart, and the ſummons ſent by captain Contrecœur, commander of the French troops: the meſſages of the half King, and the other chiefs of the ſix nations, being peruſed, it appears, that M. Wart was compelled to give up the aforeſaid fort the 17th inſtant to the French, whoſe number amounted to above a thouſand men, with eighteen

teen pieces of artillery(e), ſome of which were nine pounders, which was the leſs to be wondered at, as the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to a hundred and fifty men, commanded by colonel Waſhington, had orders to reinforce captain Trent; and that thus the garriſon of the ſaid fort conſiſtedbut of thirty-three effective men.

It was found impracticable to march towards the fort without ſufficient forces, and being very warmly preſſed by the meſſages of the ſavages, and eſpecially thoſe of the Half king, the preſident propoſed this as a ſubject of deliberation, viz. whether it was not proper to advance as far as Redſtone Creek, called by the French, Creek de la roche rouge, upon Mononghela, in French, Malengueulee, about thirty ſeven miles from the fort on this ſide; and there to fortify ourſelves, while our people were clearing up the roads, ſo as to admit the tranſporting our artillery and baggage: or to wait there for new orders.

It was reſolved in the affirmative, for this reaſon: that the mouth of Redſtone river is the firſt convenient place on Mononghela river; that the magazines deſigned for the company's ſtores are ready to receive our ſtores and proviſions; and that occaſionally, the heavy artillery may be tranſported by water, in caſe we ſhall

(e) Captain Trent and enſign Wart had greatly exaggerated the French forces; which was natural enough to people who had abandoned their fort on a bare ſummons.

think it convenient to attack the fort. Moreover, this will guard our people againſt the evil conſequences of inaction, and may be an encouragement to the indians our allies, to adhere to our intereſts. Upon this I determined on ſending M. Wart to the governor *(f)* with one of the young ſavages, and an interpreter. I thought it alſo incumbent upon me to inform the governors of Maryland and Penſylvania of of this news. I ſent back the other indian to the Half King, with the ſpeech inſerted in the following letter.

To the honourable Robert Dinwiddie, *Eſq; Governor, General,* &c.

SIR,

MR. Wart, enſign in captain Trent's company, is this day arrived from Mononghela, and has brought the melancholy news of the ſurrender of the fort the 17th inſtant on the ſummons made them by captain Contrecœur, at the head of a body of French troops, conſiſting of above a thouſand men: in his way from Venango, with eighteen pieces of cannon, ſixty battoes, and three hundred canoes: and they have given leave to all our people to retire, with all the working tools; which was done the ſame day.

Being thus informed of this news, I called a council of war in order to conſider of the

(f) The governor of Virginia.

moſt

moſt proper meaſures to be taken in theſe circumſtances. I ſend you a copy of the particulars, and the reſolutions of this council, and have charged the ſame expreſs with it, for your more particular information.

M. Wart is the bearer of the ſummons and the meſſages of the Half King, in which I have included the ſtrings of *Wampum*; he is attended by one of the ſavages, of whom mention is made in theſe ſpeeches, who has been ſent to view our forces, and to know the time they might expect our coming. I ſent back the other ſavage with ſpeeches.

I hope you will be ſenſible of the abſolute neceſſity of ſending us our forces as ſoon as they ſhall be raiſed; with a ſufficient number of canoes, of which ſome muſt be large; and ſome mortars for grenadoes, in order to be enabled to *attack the French* with an equal force. Perhaps it might be proper to invite the Cherokees, Calivbales, and the Chicachas, to come to our aſſiſtance. As we are informed, that the Iroquois and the Outawas are coming down Sciodo Creek, in order to join the French, who are to aſſemble on the Ohio. In that caſe I beg you will cauſe them to be conducted here in good order, that we may be able to prevail on them to make peace with the ſix nations; for I am informed from ſeveral parts, that there is no good underſtanding amongſt them, and that if they ſhould be the firſt at the Ohio, it

it might occaſion a good deal of diſorder, and to end our diſadvantage.

We are ſenſible of the great advantage of a water carriage; therefore I would beg the favour of you to provide a number of canoes for that purpoſe.

Captain Trent's people are arrived this day. They have been enliſted, by your orders, as militia men. The officers had imprudently promiſed them twenty-four pence a day: they will not ſerve at preſent for leſs. M. Wart will receive your orders on this ſubject.

To his Excellency Horatio Sharp, *Eſq; governor of* Maryland.

SIR,

I Arrived here with a detachment of an hundred and fifty men; colonel Fry, with the remaining part of the regiment and the artillery is daily expected; in the mean time we will croſs the mountains by eaſy marches, and cut ourſelves roads as we advance *(g)*; ſo as to render the tranſporting of our cannon practicable. We propoſe going to the mouth of Redſtone river, which falls into the Mononghela, about thirty-ſeven miles on this ſide of the fort which has been taken by the French, it being navigable to the Ohio.

(g) How could the Engliſh pretend this country belonged to them? Since they had not even roads to conduct them from their colonies thither.

There

There is a magazine built at that place by the Ohio company, which hereafter may contain our ſtores and proviſions.

Beſides the French forces above-mentioned, there is reaſon to believe from the reports which we have received, that another party is coming to the Ohio. We have alſo advice, that ſix hundred Indians, Chippoways and Olloways are coming down the river Sciodo in order to rejoin them.

This is my anſwer to the ſpeeches of the half-king

To the half-king, to the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, chevanons and wolves, our friends and our brothers.

I Have received your ſpeech by brother Bucks, who came to us with the two young men in ſix days after they had left you. We return you our moſt ſincere thanks, with hearts burning with affection for you, for your conſtant attachment, your gracious ſpeech, and your wiſe counſels.

This young man will acquaint you with the place where he has met a ſmall part of our army drawing towards your forts; being employed in clearing up the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us with our heavy artillery, our ammunition and proviſions.

I cannot

I cannot poſtpone making our hearts known to you. I therefore ſend the young man with this ſpeech in order to acquaint you therewith, having ſent the other to the governor of Virginia with your ſpeech, and and your belt; that he may be an eye-witneſs of the preparations which we are making, in order to come ſpeedily to the aſſiſtance of thoſe, whoſe intereſts are as dear to us as our lives. We acknowledge the character of the *treacherous French*; and our conduct will evidently ſhew how much we ave that at heart.

I ſhall not be ſatisfied unleſs I ſee you, before all our forces are aſſembled at the fort which is on the way. 'Tis for this reaſon that I earneſtly wiſh that you, belt and ſtring of Wampum, or at leaſt one of you would meet us on the road, as ſoon as poſſible, to aſſiſt us in counſel. *I* preſent you theſe ſtrings to enforce my ſpeech, that you may call to mind how much *I* am your brother and friend.

Signed Waſhington
or, Conotocarious. ‡

April 28. Received ſome artillery which were ſent up to the mouth of Paterſon's river.

‡ This probably is an Indian name aſſumed by M. Waſhington to render himſelf agreeable to the nations whom he would fain ſeduce.

From

From April 29, till May 11, this Journal contains nothing but marches, and other matters not very interesting.

THE 11th of May; made a detachment of a party of twenty-five men under the command of captain Stephens, and ensign la Peyronie. They were directed to go to Mr. Gists and make exact enquiries where la Force ‡ and his party lay; and in case he was in the neighbourhood they were to go no farther, but to secure themselves. I ordered them likewise to search carefully the surrounding woods, and to endeavour to nab some straggling Frenchman and to bring him, that we may get some intelligence; also to endeavour to find out whether 'tis possible to go down the river; and to look out for some convenient place about the mouth of Redstone river to build a fort on; to pay a visit to the half-king; and to send him here with a small escort. They were likewise to get what information they could, relative to the French and their schemes: what they had been doing, and what they

‡ M. de la Force, is one of those French who attended M. de Jumonville. He had been about the beginning of May, detached with three other French, and some Indians, in pursuit of some deserters: and M. Washington had been informed of this by means of the savages,

further

further deſigned to do; ‡ in ſhort, to gather whatever might tend to give us any information.

12. We ſtruck our tents and aſcended an eminence, where we halted in order to dry ourſelves; having been obliged to croſs a rapid river, where the ſmalleſt of our men had water up to their arm-pits.

An expreſs arrived with letters acquainting us, that colonel Fry was with a detachment of upwards of an hundred men at Wincheſter, and that in a few days he would ſet out in order to rejoin us; likewiſe that colonel Jnnis was on his march with three hundred and fifty men, raiſed in Carolina: That it was expected Maryland would raiſe ten thouſand pounds (equal to fifty thouſand and five hundred livres) to pay the ſoldiers of the other colonies; by way of amends for its furniſhing no men; and that governor Shirley had ſent ſix hundred men to harraſs the French in Canada. *

I hope this will give them ſome employment; and will damp that ſpirit with which they ſend parties to the river Ohio.

16. We met two traders who told us they had retired through fear of the French, of whom parties were often ſeen towards M. Giſts habitation. Theſe traders are of opi-

‡ If the Engliſh were ignorant of the deſigns of the French; it follows, that the orders which M. Waſhington had to attack them, were not occaſioned by any hoſtilities they had committed.

* Behold the Engliſh, always attacking.

nion

nion, with many others, that it is not poſſible to open a road for loaded carriages, from here to Redſtone river.

17. This evening arrived M. Wart with the young Indian from Williamſbourg; he delivers a letter, in which the governor is kind enough to approve of my meaſures; and expreſſes his diſſatisfaction of captain Trent, whom he has ordered to be tried for having, without orders, deſerted his men on the Ohio. At the ſame time the governor informed me that captain Roy, with an independent company of a hundred men, excluſive of the officers, was arrived; that we might expect them immediately, and that thoſe of New-york would join us in leſs than ten days.

This evening likewiſe, arrived from the Ohio two Indians. They come from the French fort, from whence they ſet out about five days ago: they bring word that the French employ all their forces in building their fort, which is raiſed already elbow high, and two fathoms in breadth; the middle ſpace being filled up with earth, ſtone, &c.

All the neighbouring trees have been cut down and burned, and corn has been ſown in their room. By their own account they are but eight hundred men; the Indians are of opinion they were but ſix hundred. A greater number is expected in a little time. They reckon they will then form a body of one thouſand ſix hundred men; with which

they ſay they will be able to bid defiance to the Engliſh.

18. The waters being ſtill high, I could not proceed with my people and my baggage; which made me reſolve on putting my ſelf in a poſture of defence againſt any immediate attack § of the enemy; and to go myſelf down to make my obſervation on the river.

19. I diſpatched to the half-king, the young Indian returned with M. Wart, with the following ſpeech.

To the Half-King, &c.

BROTHERS, I am rejoiced to hear of your being on your march to aſſiſt me with your counſels. Come on brothers; march haſtily towards your brother the Engliſhman; for he is going to receive new ſupplies, which will protect you againſt your treacherous enemy the Frenchman. I muſt ſend my friends to you, that you may be informed of the agreeabie ſpeech which was ſent you by the governor of Virginia; he is much grieved at the ill treatment which you have met with. The waters are ſo ſwelled, we cannot repair haſtily to you; therfore I ſend this young man to invite you to come to us: he can inform you of a great many things which he has ſeen at Virginia, and the good uſage he

§ That this pretended enemy was not deſirous of attacking, appears from the foregoing papers.

met

met with from the moſt conſiderable of the people. They have not behaved to him as the French do to your people who viſit them at their fort; ‡ they deny them victuals: this young man has had all his heart could wiſh for. As a confirmation of the truth of all this, I give you a ſtring of Wampum.

20. I embarked on a canoe along with lieutenant Weſt, three ſoldiers and an Indian; and having gone the ſpace of half a mile, we were obliged to land: where I met with Peter Suver a trader, who ſeemed to diſcourage me from purſuing my ſearch after a paſſage by water; This made me alter my intention of building canoes. I gave orders to march, the waters being low enough to paſs over; notwithſtanding, I ſtill continued going down along the banks of the river, and finding our canoes not ſufficient to contain ſix men, we ſtopt and built a boat, by the means of which and our other canoes, we got to the Turkey-foot (in French, pie de Diude). About eight or ten miles forwards, we met with ſeveral little impediments which are of no conſequence, unleſs the waters ſhould ſtill happen to fall. We paſſed ſeveral places fit for canoes.

‡ Such then are the only ill-treatments which this pretended Half-king could complain of. The French did not chuſe to receive into their fort, ill-diſpoſed, and perfidious Savages. As for the reſt, the reception given by the French to the Savages, may be collected from Robert Stobo's letter; which we ſhall ſee hereafter.

21. We ſpent ſome time in examining the place which we found to be a very fit ſituation for a fort, being at the confluence of the three branches, and meeting in moſt places, with a good ſoft gravel-ſtone foundation. The plan as it ſtands here, is as good as I could draw it, without he help of inſtruments.

We went about two miles to view the courſe of the river, which is narrow, has many currents, is full of rocks, and rapid; we croſs'd it notwithſtanding the water was pretty high: from which I am apt to think, that it would not be difficult to make it navigable for canoes; though it would be attended with ſome trouble.

Beſides this, we met with other rapid ſtreams; but the water being leſs deep, and the current more quiet, we paſſed them with eaſe. After this we found few or no bottoms; the mountains lie cloſe to both banks of the river. We went about ten miles lower down; when we found ourſelves ſtopped by a ſtrong current, which obliged us to land.

(From the 22nd to the 24th. the Journal contains nothing but a deſcription of the country.)

24. This morning arrived an Indian, accompanied by the young Indian whom I had ſent to the Half-king, from whom he brought the following letter.

To the firſt of his Majeſty's Officers whom this may concern.

" AS it is given out that the French " army is on its march, to meet M. " George Waſhington; I recommend to " you, brothers, to be on your guard againſt " them; for they propoſe to themſelves to " ſtrike the firſt Engliſh they ſhall ſee *; " they have been two days on their march " already, I cannot ſay in what number. " The Half-king, and the reſt of the chiefs, " will join you in five days to hold a council. " I ſhall ſay no more at preſent; but deſire " my compliments to my brothers the " Engliſh."

Signed

The Half-King.

I endeavoured to get as much information as I could from theſe two young Indians as to circumſtances; but received not much ſatisfaction from them.

They tell me there are parties frequently out; but they know of no conſiderable ones

* This is a device of this Savage. It is proved M. Contrecœur remained at fort du Queſne. As to M. Jumonville, he cannot be meant by this; ſince he ſet out but the 23d: we have above ſeen his inſtructions.

coming

coming this way. ‖ The French go on raiſing their fort. What is towards the land is well incloſed, but the part towards the waterſide is much neglected, or at leaſt has no defence: they have but nine pieces of cannon, and ſome of theſe very ſmall. There is none of them mounted: two of them are on the rock, and the others at ſome diſtance from the fort on the land ſide.

They report likewiſe, that they have ſeveral ſick among them, and that they cannot find ſavages to guide their ſmall parties towards our camp, theſe Indians having given them a denial.

The ſame day we arrived at the meadows, where we met a trader; who told us he was juſt come from Mr. Giſt's, where he had ſeen two Frenchmen laſt night, and that he knew there was a ſtrong detachment on its march. This confirmed the advices of the Half king; I therefore cauſed the troops to retire behind two intrenchments which were made by nature, and made alſo the waggons to go into the ſame place.

The 25th I ſent a ſcouting party on horſeback along the roads, and ſeveral other ſmall ones to beat up the woods. I gave directions to the horſemen to ſearch the country well, and to endeavour at getting ſome intelligence of the French; their forces, and their motions,

‖ Another proof of the lye contained in the letter.

&c.

&c. At night all theſe parties returned without making any diſcovery, although they had been far enough the way, from which this party is ſaid to be coming.

26. Arrived William Jenkins expreſs from colonel Fry; and a letter from colonel Fairfax, who writes me word that the governor himſelf, colonels Corbin and Ludruelt, were arrived at Wincheſter; and deſired to ſee the Half-king at that place: on which I addreſs'd him ſome ſpeeches.

27. Mr. Giſt arrived early with an account, that M. la Force with fifty men, whoſe tracks he had diſcovered at five miles from this place, went yeſterday to his habitation; and that they would have killed a cow, and demoliſhed every thing at his dwelling, had they not been hindered by two Indians to whom he had left the care of his houſe. I ſent away on the ſpot, a detachment of ſixty-five men under the conmmand of captain Hogg, lieutenant Mercer, and enſign la Peronie, three ſerjeants, and three corporals with inſtructions.

The French had been making great enquiries at Mr. Giſts about the Half-king: I did not fail giving notice thereof to ſome young Indians who were in our camp, which had the effect *I* deſired. I gave them to underſtand * that the French meant to kill the

* It ſeems an Impoſture coſts M. Waſhington nothing: Here he takes pride in it.

Half-

Half-king: they offered to go, on the ſpot, in purſuit of the French with our people; and in caſe they had inſulted or killed him, one of them was immediately to repair with the news to the village of Mingo, and raiſe the warriors to ſtrike. One of theſe young men was detached towards Mr. Giſt's ſettlement, and in caſe he did not meet with the Half-king at that place, he was to ſend him a ſpeech by a Delaware. *

About eight in the evening *I* received an expreſs from the Half-king, acquainting me that as he was coming along to join us, they had diſcovered along the roads the tracks of two men, who deſcended into a dark bottom: that he imagined the whole party was concealed in the ſame place. That moment I ſent out a party of forty men. *I* orderered my ſtores to be hid, leſt this might be a ſtratagem of the French to attack our camp. *I* left a guard for their defence; and with the remainder I ſet out myſelf in the midſt of a very heavy rain; the night being as dark as pitch, and along a path ſcarce large enough for one man: we often went aſtray, and were fifteen or twenty minutes, before we could find out the road again; and we often knocked our heads together without ſeeing each other. We continued our march the whole night; and the 28th about ſun-riſe,

* This is the name of an Indian nation.

we arrived at the camp of the Indians; where after we had held a council with the Half-king, we agreed to ſtrike together. In conſequence of this, he ſent a couple of ſcouts to ſee whereabouts they were, and in what poſture, and to reconnoitre the neighbouring grounds. After this we made our diſpoſition in order to ſurround them ‡ and we began our march in the Indian manner, one after another. We had advanced pretty near them according to our ſyſtem, when they diſcovered us. *I* then gave orders to my troop to fire. Mine was ſupported by that of M. Wager, and my troop and his received all that of the French, during the beſt part of the engagement; which held but a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was routed.

We killed § M. de Jumonville the commander of this party, with nine others: we wounded one, and made twenty-one priſoners, among whom were M. de la Force, M. Drouillon, and two Cadets. The Indians ſcalped the dead, and took moſt of their arms. After this we marched with the priſoners and their guard, to the camp of the Indians; where I again held a council with the Half-

‡ It is then certain the Engliſh had orders to attack.

§ M, Waſhington is not ſuch a fool as to be ſincere in his account of this tranſaction. But we ſhall ſee lower down, how he labours to juſtify himſelf; in order without doubt, to ſilence the remorſes that accuſed him.

king. Here I acquainted him that the governor desired to see him, and expected him at Wincheſter. His answer was; that was impoſſible for the preſent; his people being in too imminent a danger from the French, whom they had juſt ſtruck. ‡ That it was neceſſary he ſhould ſend couriers to all the allied nations, to invite them to take up the Hatchet; which he did: and added thereto a French ſcalp which he ſent to the Delawares by one of their young people. This man deſired to have a part of the preſents which were deſigned for them; and that the reſt might be kept for another occaſion. He propoſed to himſelf to return to his family; in order to conduct them and ſeveral others towards M. Giſt's ſettlement, where I was to ſend ſome horſes and men to aſſiſt their coming to the camp. After this *I* ſet out with the priſoners; they informed me that they had been ſent with a warning to cauſe me to withdraw. This was a ſpecious pretext trumped up in order to diſcover our camp ‖ and take a view of our forces, and our ſituation. Their deſign of reconnoitring us was ſo evident, that I could not help admiring

‡ The French then were dreaded only becauſe it was acknowlepged that they had been attacked; and that they muſt have had their revenge.

‖ The only hoſtility with which the French are reproached, is therefore an attempt to reconnoitre the enemy, who was in march, and had orders to attack them.

their

their aſſurance, in declaring to me they were come with an embaſſy. Their inſtructions were, to take a view of the roads, rivers, and the country all the way to Potomack: inſtead of coming like ambaſſadors, in a public and open manner, they come with the greateſt ſecrecy, and ſeek the moſt hidden places of retirement *(a)*, and much more ſuitable for deſerters than ambaſſadors; they encamp in theſe places; they remain there whole days concealed, though but within five miles of us; they ſend out ſpies to reconnoitre our camp; the whole troop goes two miles back; two couriers, of whom mention is made in the inſtructions, are ſent to adviſe M. Contrecœur of the place where we were, and our diſpoſition; that he may be enabled to ſend his detachments in order to reform the ſummons as ſoon as it ſhould be made *(b)*.

Beſides this, the attendance was indeed ſuch as might have become an ambaſſador, whereas, it was but a little ſimple French officer: what need had an Ambaſſador, whoſe character is always ſacred, of ſpies? when their deſigns were ſo good, how came

(a) Why this apology in a ſimple journal? M. Waſhington anticipates here on theſe reproaches only becauſe he is ſenſible how far he is entitled to them.

(b) The French are here ſuppoſed to have had a project, which atworſt would declare a regular way of proceeding, previous to expelling the Engliſh from the territories which they had juſt invaded, it was natural to ſummon them to retire. It is an ambaſſador gives this warning.

they to remain two days within five miles of us *(a)*, without communicating to me the ſummons, or any thing that had a relation to this embaſſy? This alone would be ſufficient to give the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicions; and it is but doing them juſtice to ſay, that their deſign being to conceal themſelves, they could not have pitched upon a better place.

The ſummons is ſo inſolent, and ſavours ſo much of gaſconade, that if two men came and brought it openly, it were exceſſive indulgence *(b)* to ſuffer them to go back.

The Half-King's ſentiment *(c)* on this occaſion is, that they had bad deſigns and that it was a mere pretext; that they never deſigned to come to us but as enemies, and that had we been fools enough to let them go, they never would have aſſiſted us more in taking Frenchmen.

They pretend they no ſooner ſaw us, than they called out to us; which is abſolutely falſe; for I was at the head of the body that

His buſineſs was to give notice of his ſteps to him who had ſent him; that he might take his meaſures in caſe the Engliſh ſhould refuſe complying with the requiſition that was made them.

(a) M. de Jumonville was thoroughly ignorant of the Engliſh being within five miles of him.

(b) Another ſort of apology which indicates only remorſe.

(c) What an authority is here?

marched

marched towards them, and I can affirm, that they no ſooner had ſpied us than they ran to their arms, without calling out to us; which I muſt have heard had they done it.

The 29th I diſpatched enſign Latour to the Half-King, with about twenty-five men and almoſt an equal number of horſes; and as I expected that ſome other French parties would follow the one that was defeated, I ſent away an expreſs to colonel Fry in order to have a reinforcement..

After this the French wanted to ſpeak with me, and deſired to know upon what footing I conſidered them, whether as being attendants on an ambaſſador, or priſoners of war. I told them it was in this latter capacity; and gave them my reaſons as above.

The 30th I detached M. Wart and M. Spindorph, in order to conduct the priſoners to Wincheſter underan eſcort of twenty men.

Being apprehenſive that the news of this defeat would no ſooner reach the French, than we ſhould be attacked with conſiderable forces, I began to erect a fort with a ſmall paliſade.

June 1, arrived a trader with the Half-King: they ſay that at the ſame time M. de Jumonville had been ſent here, another party was ſent down the river *(d)* in order to take and kill all the Engliſh they ſhould meet.

We

(*d*) A palpable falſhood.

We finiſh our fort.

Towards the evening arrives M. Touvers, enſign, with the Half-King, the Queen Alguipa *(a)* and about five and twenty or thirty families, amounting to about eighty or an hundred perſons women and children included. The old king *(b)* being invited to our tents, tells me he has ſent Monokatoocha to Logſtown with a ſtring, and four French ſcalps, which were to be ſent to the ſix nations, to the Owendo's, &c. in order to give them notice, that they had ſtruck the French, and deſire their aſſiſtance in the ſupport of the firſt blow.

He gave me alſo to underſtand he had ſomething to offer to the council, but that he would poſtpone what he had to ſay till the arrival of the Chavanons, whom we expected the next day.

The 2d arrived two or three families of the Shawanons and Wolves. Prayers were read in the fort.

The 3d the Half-King calls a council, and informs me of his having received, ſome time ſince, a ſpeech from the Great Kettle, in anſwer to that he had ſent him.

The 5th, arrived an Indian from the Ohio, who had gone lately to the French fort: he brings confirmation of the news of the taking

(a) The wife of a ſavage, created queen by the Engliſh.

(b) Another ſavage chief.

of

of two traders by the French, and their being ſent to Canada: he ſays they have ſtuck their palliſades in the ground, and ſhut up the avenues of their fort by means of very large trees.

Eight Indian families from this ſide the river are coming to join us; he has met one of the French, who had made his eſcape from M. de Jumonville's engagement. He was without ſhoes, ſtockings, and almoſt unable to walk; but he let him paſs, as he was ignorant of their having been ſtruck.

The 6th M. Giſt returned; he acquaints me with the death of poor colonel Fry, and that the French priſoners are arrived all ſafe at Wincheſter, which gave the governor great ſatisfaction.

I am alſo informed, that M. Montour *(c)* is coming with a commiſſion to command two hundred Indians.

M. Giſt met a French deſerter, who aſſured him they were but five hundred ſtrong, when they took M. Wart's fort, and that their number was now decreaſed, having diſpatched fifteen men to Canada, to acquaint the governor with their ſucceſs; that there were ſtill two hundred ſoldiers, who waited only a favourable opportunity to come away and join us.

The 9th the laſt diviſion of the Virginia regiment arrived under the command of colo-

(c) This is the Canadian deſerter, of whom mention is made in the interrogatory of the Engliſh traders.

nel

nel Muſt. We are informed that the independent company of Carolina is arrived at Will's Creek.

The 10th I received the regiment; and towards the evening *I* had notice that ſome French were coming towards us: on this I ſent ſome Indians to beat up the grounds towards *Giſt's* habitation, in hopes to diſcovering them, and finding out their number. In the beginning of the night we had an alarm, but it proved a falſe one.

The 12th two of the ſcouts whom we had ſent out yeſterday returned, having ſpied a ſmall party of French; the others went on to *Stuart's*. Upon hearing this I judged it adviſeable to ſet out with the major part of the regiment, in order to fall in with theſe ninety men, whom we had notice of; in conſequence of this reſolution I gave colonel Muſt orders to remove all our baggage and military ſtores, to lodge them in the fort, and to poſt a ſtrong guard on them till ſuch time as I returned. I ſet out myſelf at the head of an hundred and thirty men, and about thirty ſavages, but at the diſtance of about half a mile I met with the other Indians, who told me this party conſiſted only of nine deſerters; then I ſent M. Montour with ſome Indians, in order to conduct them ſafe. I ordered them cloaths, and they confirmed our conjecture, as to the deſign of the party commanded by M. de Jumonville, and that there

are

are above one hundred ſoldiers who wait only for a favourable opportunity to come and join us. That M. de Contrecœur expected a reinforcement of four hundred men: and that theſe four hundred ſhould have arrived ſome time before the blow given to la Force. That the fort was complete; that the gates and the front thereof were ſcreened from any artillery; that on the water ſide there was double palliſadoes; that they have but eight ſmall pieces of canon, and that they know our number.

They alſo informed us, that the Delawares *(a)* and the Shawanons have taken up the hatchet againſt us: on which it was reſolved to invite theſe two nations to a conference at M. Giſts. Sent for that purpoſe Meſſengers and Belts.

The 13th I perſuaded theſe deſerters to write to their comrades, who are diſpoſed to deſert, the following letter *(b)*.

This letter is not in the journal.

15. Ordered the people to work at the roads.

16. We ſet out for the red river, and we were under great embaraſſments; our waggons having broke down ſeveral times.

17. I diſpatched an expreſs to the Half King, to deſire he would ſend to the *Wolves*; which he has done as I expected.

(a) Such was the effect of the indignation occaſioned by the murder of M. de Jumonville.

(b) How is this proceeding to be juſtified?

18. Arrived eight Mingos from Logs-town, who immediately on their arrival talk to me of a commiſſion which they are entruſted with, and ſay that a council muſt be called. Being met, they ſaid in a few words, that they had often wiſhed to ſee their brothers in the field with their forces, and begged we would not think ill of them, for that being among the French, they conformed with ſome of their cuſtoms: that they were naturally inclined to ſtrike the French, and ſeveral other things to that purpoſe: after this they told us, they had brought a ſpeech, and that they muſt ſet about it immediately. That, with ſome thing elſe, gave us ſome ſuſpicion of their being ill diſpoſed towards us; and it was for this reaſon I poſtponed giving them audience, until the arrival of the Half King. I deſired alſo the Delawares to have patience until the ſame time, as I waited only for their arrival to call a council, and that I reckoned on their arriving that very day. After the eight Mingos had withdrawn from their council, they ſent me ſome ſtrings of wampum, to deſire I would excuſe their being in ſuch haſte to deliver their ſpeech; but that they were ſenſible it was juſt to wait the arrival of the Half King.

The Half King being arrived, I conſented to give them audience. A council was held to that purpoſe in the camp: at which were preſent the Half King, and ſeveral Iroquois, Wolves, Shawanons, to the number of forty.

The

The ſpeech-maker of the ſix nations addreſſed this ſpeech to the governor of Virginia.

" BROTHERS,

We, your brothers of the ſix nations, are now come to meet you, and acquaint you, that we have heard you threaten to deſtroy, entirely, all your brothers, the Indians, who would not come and join you on the road. Wherefore it is, that we, who remain in our villages, expect every day to be cut into pieces by you. We would fain know the truth of this news from yourſelves; and we hope you will not take it amiſs that we are come to inform ourſelves thereof; ſince you know very well, bad news makes a far greater impreſſion on us than good. That by your anſwer, we may be fully informed of the truth, we preſent you this ſtring.

We know the French on our return will aſk us, In what number are our brothers whom we have been to viſit? We therefore by this ſtring deſire you would tell us; as likewiſe the number of thoſe you expect; againſt what time, and when you propoſe to attack the French; that we may adviſe our village thereof; and alſo know what we may ſay to the French."

ANSWER.

Brothers, we are glad to ſee you, and very ſorry you ſhould be diſturbed by any reports tending to make you believe the Engliſh deſign doing any harm to any one of you or your allies. This news, we ſee, has been forged by the French man, who is a traytor, and ready to affirm the greateſt falſhoods (*a*) whenever he thinks it can be of ſervice to him. He has a fine tongue, promiſes the fineſt things, but all this is from the lips only; while his heart contains nothing but corruption, and the poiſon of the ſerpent. You have been their children, and they would have done, to be ſure, every thing for you; but they no ſooner fancied themſelves ſtrong enough then they have naturally re-aſſumed their haughty airs, have driven you out of your own country, and declared you had nothing on the Ohio (*b*). The Engliſh,

(*a*) From what has been ſeen above, it will be eaſy to judge which of the two are the better entitled to this reproach. the French or the Engliſh? The impoſture which M. Waſhington confeſſes his having had recourſe to, in order to provoke the reſentment of the ſavages, may convey an idea of the methods employed by the Engliſh.

(*b*) 'Tis very true, the Iroquois never inhabited the borders of the Fair River, nor do they at all pretend to it; but the Engliſh, who in America call them their faithful friends and allies, endeavour to perſuade them, that the borders of the Ohio belong to the ſix cantons, under the pretence of ſome ancient wars which the laſt had with the ſavages on the Ohio; and in Europe they maintain that this ſame country belongs to England, of which they pretend the Iroquois are ſubjects.

who

who are your true brothers, have too much generoſity to think the ſix nations, their faithful allies, ſhould ever be treated in this manner. After you had been with the governors of Virginia and Penſylvania, they have, at your repeated requeſts, *ſent an army to ſupport your rights (c)*, to put you in poſſeſſion of your lands, to guard your women and children, to diſpoſſeſs the French, maintain your rights, and ſecure you all this country: this is the buſineſs in which the arms of the Engliſh are now employed: 'tis for the ſafety of your women and children that we fight; as that is the true motive of our conduct *(d)*, we cannot reaſonably doubt but the reſt of your forces will join us to fight the common enemy. Thoſe who will not come in, will be reſponſible for the conſequences. We only wiſh that our brothers may embrace the party that ſhall appear to them moſt proper.

The ſix nations are thoſe that are principally concerned in this war; for them it is we fight; and I ſhould never forgive myſelf if I did them the leaſt harm. 'Tis to aſſiſt you, and protect you, that we fight; our arms are open to receive you, and our hands are ready to feed your families during the courſe of the war. The governor of Virginia has ſeveral times

(c) In this place the Engliſh acknowledge the country not to be theirs; they have therefore no right to charge France with any hoſtility. It were the buſineſs of the Iroquois to complain, and yet they do not complain.

(d) What! behold the ſubject of the war which is made on France? a protection due to the Iroquois, who have never complained.

deſired they ſhould be ſent him, that he might behold them with his own eyes, fed and cloathed to their mind: but as you cannot prevail on yourſelves to ſend them to him, we are ready to ſhare with you, in a friendly manner, our proviſions; and we ſhall take proper meaſures, and give orders, that a ſufficient quantity be brought wherewithal to maintain and cloath your women and children. From this conduct it is evident, how much greater is the eſteem which the Engliſh bear their faithful allies (*a*) the ſix nations, than that which the French bears them. As we have drawn the ſword in your defence, and for your cauſe, delay not a moment longer to put your women and children under our protection; there they will find abundance of proviſions. At the ſame time let your young men and warriors ſet about whetting their hatchets in order to join us, and unite themſelves to us vigorouſly in our battles. Brothers, the preſent which I offer you, is not ſo conſiderable as I could naturally wiſh; but I expect in a little time to receive a great quantity of marchandiſe, which I ſhall have at my diſpoſal, to reward thoſe who will give proofs of their valour and activity on this occaſion. For the reſt I will reward them in the moſt generous manner.

(*a*) In Europe the great argument urged by the Engliſh in proof of their title to the country ſituated beyond the Apalachian mountains is, that the Iroquois are their ſubjects? How is that conſiſtent with the reaſons which they avail themſelves of in America, when they ſpeak to the Iroquois?

Take courage, brothers, reſcue your country, and ſecure it for your children, lay your hearts open to me on this occaſion; that I may be enabled to give an account of your ſentiments to your great friend and brother the governor of Virginia. As an aſſurance of my ſincerity and my eſteem, I preſent you this belt of wampum.

The 20th, Another council.

The Delawares no ſooner found that they were ſuſpected of favouring the French intereſts, than they deſired to know the reaſon of their having been ſent for, and what was neceſſary for them to ſay on their return.

I anſwered, it was to acquaint them, that it was in compliance with their repeated ſollicitations we had come with an armed force to their aſſiſtance (*a*); that our deſign was to reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of the lands which the Frenchman had taken away from them.

That as they had often claimed our aſſiſtance, in the quality of ancient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and put themſelves under our protection, with their women and children.

Upon this the ſpeech-bearer ſtretched his quilt on the floor, and on this quilt he placed

(*b*) During all this time the Delawares took the part of the French, and were not the dupes of the air of aſſurance with which the Engliſh endeavoured to perſuade them they were come at their requiſition.

ſeve-

ſeveral belts and ſtrings of wampum in the order he had received them in from the French.

Here are repeated the ſpeeches of M. Contrecœur ; *(c)* after which the Delawar ſpeaker addreſſed me the following ſpeeches.

" Brothers,

The governors of Virginia and Penſylvania, we your brothers the Delawares recollect perfectly the treaty of Logſtown, where you and your uncles the ſix nations, taking into conſideration the bad ſituation we were in on account of our wanting a man to be at our head to conduct us, gave us a king, and told us he would tranſact in all publick matters between you and us *(d)*. You recommended to us not to give ear to all the idle rumours which ſhould be ſpread, but to conſult our own intereſts well, and do what would ſeem to us right: we can aſſure you, we have not given credit to all theſe reports ; nor ſhall we ever give any credit to ſuch ; but that we will be led by you, our brothers, and by our uncles the ſix nations, and do on every occaſion, what ſhall be juſt, and what you ſhall adviſe us to. As an aſſurance of our diſpoſition to fulfil our engagements with you, we preſent you this belt.

(c) Major Waſhington does not mention in his journal what theſe ſpeeches of the French were. He had undoubtedly good reaſons for ſuppreſſing them.

(d) Should it be from this pretended King that the Engliſh have derived ſo many acquiſitions ?

After

After this, they made the following ſpeech to the ſix nations,

" Uncles,

'Tis thirteen days ſince we have received from the council of Onondago this belt; we doubt not but you have been appriſed of it. He exhorted us to recollect the old time when he covered us with a robe that deſcended to our heels: He afterwards deſired we would tuck it up to our knees, and tye it well, and meet them at the ſource of the Siſquehana, where he has prepared a place for us to live at, and that he has ſent this ſpeech to thoſe of our nation, who live on the ſide of the Miniſintes; inviting them to the place which he had pitched on to live along with us. He has alſo ſent us a ſpeech to acquaint us that the Engliſhman and the Frenchman were on the point of coming to blows on the river Ohio; and he exhorted us to do nothing in this conjuncture but what was reaſonable, and will himſelf tell us; laſtly, he recommended to us to keep faſt hold of the chain of friendſhip, which has been a long while, ſubſiſting between us, him, and our brothers the Engliſh.

A Belt.

After this the Delawares ſpoke to the Chevanons as follows.

" Grand children, by this ſtring we take you in our arms, and we withdraw you from the place you are now at on the Ohio, and we carry you along with us to live where we live, and where you and we may live in peace and tranquillity.

After this the council adjourned to the next day in the morning.

The 21ſt we met very early, when I immediately ſpoke to the Delawares in the following manner.

Brothers, by your open and generous conduct on this occaſion, you have become dearer to us than ever: we thank you for not going to Venango upon the firſt invitation of the Frenchman; and his childiſh treatment of you, has raiſed in us a juſt and warm reſentment; he calls you his children and talks to you in reality, as if you were children, and had not more ſenſe than children. Weigh well, brothers, and compare all their ſpeeches together, you will find, that every thing they contain may be reduced to this; I am going to clear your eyes, open your ears, and ſuch like futilities; ſuch as are made uſe of to amuſe children withal. You will likewiſe obſerve, brothers, that if they give their word or make a promiſe, and confirm it with a belt, they think themſelves no longer obligated thereby, than they eſteem it their intereſt to keep it. They have given an inſtance of this, which I am willing to obſerve to you, in the

leap

leap which they ſay, they have taken over the barrier which you had oppoſed to them: this ought, brothers, to inſpire you with the moſt juſt indignation, and induce you to lay hold on the favourable opportunity which we offer to you, being come at your requeſt to aſſiſt you; by which means you have it in your power to make them leap back again, much quicker than they had come forwards.

A String of Wampum.

The French are conſtantly deſiring you not to liſten to the ill reports which will be ſpread of them who are your fathers. If they were not ſenſible in their own minds how much they deſerve it by their unjuſt procedure towards you; why ſhould they ſuſpect that they are impeached? why ſhould they take ſo much care to prevent you from giving credit to what will be ſaid againſt them? As to what they will tell you to our prejudice, our conduct alone, will be our anſwer.

Enquire yourſelves into the truth; you know the roads which lead to our ſettlements; you have lived among us; you can ſpeak our language. But in order to confute what might be ſaid, and give aſſurances of our brotherly friendſhip; we invite anew your old men, your women and your children, to take re-

fuge under our protection, and between our arms, where you will be plentifully maintained; while your warriors and your young people will unite with ours, and eſpouſe the common cauſe.

A String.

We return you our hearty thanks, brothers, for your declaration; that you are in a determined reſolution to fulfill the engagements you have entered into, by the treaty of Logſtown. ‡ And we cannot help applauding your generous conduct towards your grand-children the Shawaneſe. It gives us infinite pleaſure.

We are greatly obliged to Onondago for the advice he has given; to keep faſt hold of the chain of friendſhip which ties us. I dare ſay, if he had known how nearly this war concerns you; or that it was for your ſakes, and at your requeſt ‖ that we have taken up arms, he would have commanded you to declare yourſelves, and to proceed without de-

‡ What this Treaty of Logſtown is, we do not know. What may be collected from this Journal relative thereto is; that it was concluded by a man whom the Engliſh had appointed to be their King; and of whom of courſe, they muſt have been very certain.

‖ Why ſo many repetitions of the ſame thing? unleſs becauſe M. Waſhington apprehended, the Delawares would not believe a tittle of it.

lay

lay to action, againſt the common enemy of the Six-nations.

To convince you of my affection, and as a confirmation of the truth of what I have told you; I preſent you this belt.

Gave two large Strings.

After this the council broke up: and theſe treacherous devils who had been ſent by the French in order to make obſervations, returned back; not being however unprovided with ſome diſcourſes prepared on purpoſe to amuſe the French, and to favour the ſucceſs of our own ſchemes.

As they had ſpoke to me of ſixteen hundred French, and ſeven hundred Indians, who they ſaid were on their march to reinforce thoſe at the fort;; I prevailed on the Half king, to ſend three of his people in order to be informed of the truth of the matter; notwithſtanding *I* was of opinion this news had no other foundation, than the talk of the common ſoldiers. Theſe Indians were diſpatched privately, before the council broke up, with orders to repair to the fort, and get information of all the Indians they ſhould meet there: and if they ſhould learn any thing worth while; one of them § was to return while the two others were to proceed

§ It was by means of theſe Indians, that a communication was kept up with Robert Stobo the Spy; whoſe letter will make its appearance preſently.

on

on their journey to Venango, and round the lake, in order to be fully informed of the whole.

I prevailed alſo on King Schingués to keep ſcouts out on the river, in order to give us news in caſe of the approach of any French. I gave him a letter which he was to ſend me by his Runners, to prevent being impoſed on or receiving falſe alarms. Although we had not ſucceeded in perſuading King Shingués, and the other antient Delawares, to take ſhelter in our camp with their families, becauſe they ſtood in great awe of the council of Onondago; yet they gave us the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of aſſiſtance, and pointed out to us the means by which I was to go about attaining our ends; which was to have in readineſs a great War-belt, in order to invite thoſe who were willing to receive it, and act independently of their king and the council. King Schingués promiſed to uſe, underhand, the moſt ſubtile means to bring this matter to bear; though he durſt not appear in it openly.

The very day the council broke up, I prevailed on Raquehuſton a Delaware, on whom I could depend, to carry to the fort a letter which the French deſerters had writ to their fellow-ſoldiers; and I gave him inſtructions relative to the manner he was to conduct himſelf in his obſervations on ſeveral articles which I mentioned to him. And indeed, I am thoroughly ſatisfied of the poſſibility

ſibility of ſurpriſing the fort; in as much as the French encamp outſide of it, and that the duty cannot be performed exactly, on account of the works which they are employed in.

I alſo employed George, another truſty Delaware, to viſit the fort in a little time after Raquehuſton; and furniſhed him with proper inſtructions; recommending to him at the ſame time in a ſpecial manner, to return quickly; that we might be ſupplied with freſh news.

The council was no ſooner broke up, than the Delawaares, as alſo the half king, and all the other Indians, notwithſtanding all that M. Montour could ſay to diſſuade them from it, returned back to the great meadow. In order to make amends for the loſs of theſe Indians, I was obliged to keep ſcouts out conſtantly of our own people, to guard againſt all kinds of ſurpriſe.

Having been told that if *I* ſent a ſtring of Wampum and a ſpeech, the Half king and his young men might be prevailed on to come back. I ſent the followiug ſpeech by M. Croghon.

" It is now ſome little time ſince you and we have been met. We have ſent by your brother the governor of Virginia, at your own requeſt, repeated ſeveral times, in order to aſſiſt you and fight your cauſe. It is therefore for that reaſon that I muſt requeſt of you,

you, brothers, that you and your young men do come to join us, and encamp with us; to the end that we may hold ourſelves in readineſs to receive our brother Monacotoca, whom I expect every day. That this requeſt may be attended with the deſired effect, and make the proper impreſſion on your minds, *I* preſent you this ſtring of Wampum.

As theſe Indians who were ſpies for the French, appeared very curious; and uſed to aſk ſeveral queſtions, in order to know by what road we propoſed to march to the fort; and when we expected to arrive there. I made the people give over working on the road, and ceaſed to carry it on any farther. I told them after this we intended to go on with it through the woods, as far as the fort, by cutting down the trees, &c. and that here we waited for the reinforcement, which was coming to us; together with our artillery and our Waggons, in order to take them along with us: but no ſooner were theſe people gone, than I ordered the road to be opened, and carried towards Redſtone.

25. Towards the evening arrived from the Great-meadows three men; among whom is the ſon of queen Aliquipa. He brings me a letter from Mr. Croghon, acquainting me of the difficulties he meets with in finding any Indian that is diſpoſed to come: that indeed, the Half king was diſpoſed and preparing to come and join us; but that he was prevented from

it

it by a blow which he received. I thought it proper therefore to diſpatch M. Montour to the fort of neceſſity, in order to try whether it was not poſſible to prevail on the Indians to come to us.

26. Arrives an Indian, who brings word that Monacathoca has burned his village (Logſtown;) and has ſet out by water, for Redſtone, with his people; where he may be expected to arrive in two days. This Indian has paſſed by the fort, and aſſures us the French have received no reinforcement, except a ſmall number of Indians, who he ſays, have killed two or three Delawares. I failed not to relate this pieceof news, and to repreſent it in its propereſt colours to the Indians; and particularly to two Delawares, who are here.

27. I detached captain Lewis, lieutenant Wagghener, and enſign Mercer; two ſerjeants, two corporals, a drum and ſixty men, to endeavour to carry on the road to the place where Redſtone-river diſcharges itſelf into the Mononghela.

NUMBER IX.

Journal of the Campaign of M. Villiers.

I Arrived at fort du Queſne the 26th of June, about eight o' clock in the morning, with the ſeveral nations, of which the general had given me the command.

I was informed on my arrival, that M. de Contrecœur had made a detachment of five hundred French, and eleven Savages of the different nations of the Fair river; the command of which he had intruſted to M. le Mercier; who was to ſet out the next day.

As I was this officer's ſenior; that I commanded the Six-nations; and that my * brother had been aſſaſſinated: M. de Contrecœur honoured me with this command; and M. le Mercier, though deprived of it gave me to underſtand, it would give him great pleaſure to ſerve the campaign under my orders.

M. de Contrecœur, called Meſſ. le Mercier, Longevil, and myſelf together, in order to deliberate on what was proper to be done during the campaign; taking into conſideration the ſituation, the ſtrength of the enemy, the aſſaſſination which they had committed

* M. de Jumonville.

on

on us; and the peace which it was our deſign to maintain between the two crowns.

28. I received my orders from M. Contrecœur: the proviſions were given out: every one embarked; and we ſet out from the fort about ten in the morning.

From this moment *I* began to employ Indian runners by land; to prevent being in any way ſurpriſed.

I went to ſpend the night about ſix or eight acres above the firſt fork of the river Mononghela; though I had no intention to make this my way. I called the Savages together and deſired their advice. It was determined, though a longer way, to proceed by the river Mononghela.

29. Maſs was ſaid at the camp; after which we ſet out on our march, with the uſual precautions.

30. We came to the Stock-houſe * which was built by laying pieces of timber one over the other, well joined together: the building was about thirty feet in length, by twenty-two in breadth. As it was late, and that I would do nothing without conſulting the Savages; I encamped about two gun ſhots from this place.

I called the leaders together that evening; and we deliberated about the precautions which were proper for us to take for the

* This Stock-houſe had been built by the Engliſh.

ſecurity of our wheel-carriages; the proviſions which we intended to leave in reſerve; and the people who were to guard them.

July 1. We went and put our wheel-carriages in a ſecure place. We diſpoſed in order our effects, and whatever elſe we could diſpenſe with in the Stock-houſe. I left to guard them a good ſerjeant and twenty men, and a few ſick Savages. Some ammunition was ſhared out, and on we marched. About eleven o'clock we ſpied ſome human tracks, which gave us a ſuſpicion of our being diſcovered.

About three in the afternoon, having had no account of our ſcouts, I ſent out ſome others, who fell in with the firſt. They miſtook each other, and were juſt going to fire at one another; but luckily they found out their miſtake. They came to us and declared, that they had been as far as the road which the Engliſh were making; that they had ſeen no body there; and that it was apparent no body had been there for about three days: we no longer doubted but the Engliſh were appriſed of our ſteps.

2. At break of day, we ſet out on our march, without waiting the arrival of the ſcouts. After I had marched for ſome time, I ſtopped and determined not to proceed farther; till ſuch time as I received ſome poſitive account. I diſpatched ſome ſcouts towards the road: in the interim arrived ſome of the Savages whom I had left behind at the Stock-houſe.

houſe. They had made a priſoner who ſaid he was a deſerter; I examined him, and threatened him with hanging, if he attempted to impoſe upon me. I was informed the Engliſh had deſerted their poſt, in order to draw near their fort; and that they took with them likewiſe their cannon.

Some of our people diſcovered the camp which had been abandoned by the Engliſh; and thither we went. I ſent out ſcouts, and took care to have every place ſearched. A great many inſtruments and other utenſils were found concealed, which I ordered to be taken away. It being late I cauſed my detachment to encamp at this place.

I again ſet about aſking the Engliſhman more queſtions, continuing to frighten him and likewiſe to flatter him; with the hopes of being rewarded. I communicated to the Savages whatever diſcoveries I made, and my reſolution not to expoſe them raſhly. It rained the whole night.

3. At day-break I prepared to march. I invited the Savages to ſupply me with ſcouts. The weather inclined to be rainy; but I foreſaw the neceſſity of preventing the enemy; before they had raiſed the works which they might reſolve on.

We marched the whole day through the rain; and I ſent out ſcout after ſcout: I ſtopped at the place where my brother had been aſſaſſinated; and here *I* ſaw ſome human carcaſes ſtill remaining.

Being

Being now about three quarters of a league from the Engliſh fort; I made each officer to march in a column at his reſpective diviſion, in order to have it in my power to diſpoſe of them as the exigency ſhould require.

I ſent ſcouts who were to go cloſe to the camp; and twenty more to ſupport them; and I advanced my ſelf in order; when ſome of my people returned to tell me that we were diſcovered; and that the Engliſh approached in order of battle to attack us: as it was ſaid they were juſt cloſe to me, *I* put my troops in order of battle, and in a manner agreeable to the wood-fighting. It was not long before *I* perceived that my ſcouts had led me wrong; and *I* gave orders to my troops to advance towards that ſide from whence I apprehended an attack.

As we were not acquainted with the ground, we preſented our flank to the fort from whence they began to cannonade us: I perceived almoſt at the ſame time, to the right, the Engliſh coming towards us in order of battle. The Savages, and we alſo, ſet up the cry, and advanced to meet them: but they gave us not time to make our diſcharge: they filed off, and withdrew into an intrenchment which lay contiguous to their fort. We then ſet ourſelves about inveſting the fort: it was advantageouſly enough ſituated in a meadow, the wood of which was within

within muſket ſhot of it. We came as cloſe to them as it was poſſible, to the end that his Majeſty's ſubjects might not be expoſed without neceſſity : the fire was pretty briſk on both ſides, and I repaired to the place which appeared moſt to favour a ſally. We ſucceeded in ſilencing the fire of their cannon, I may ſay, with our ſmall arms.

The enemy's fire began again at ſix o'Clock, with more fury than ever, and laſted till eight o'Clock. We returned it briſkly. We took the proper meaſures for ſecuring our poſts, and keeping the Engliſh cloſe in their fort during the night. When we had put ourſelves into the beſt poſition poſſible, we cauſed it to be cried out, that if the Engliſh were deſirous to ſpeak to us, we would ceaſe firing: they accepted the propoſal, and there came a captain to that part of the attack where I was. I detached M. le Mercier to receive him, and I went myſelf into the meadow; here we told them, that as we were not in war, we were willing to deliver them from the cruelties to which a more obſtinate reſiſtance would expoſe them from the the ſavages; that this very night we would take away from them all hopes of ſlipping away from us. That we now condeſcended to ſhew them mercy, as we were come only with a view to take revenge for the murder which they committed on my brother, in violation of the moſt ſacred laws; and to oblige them to quit the King's territories;

and

and we agreed with them to grant them the capitulation, of which a copy is annexed.

We conſidered, that nothing could be more advantageous to the nation than this capitulation; it not being natural, that we ſhould make priſoners of war in time of peace. We made the Engliſh agree to give it us under their hands, that they had committed an aſſaſſination on us, in the camp of my brother. We had hoſtages as ſureties for the French whom they had in their power: we compelled them to evacuate the conntry belonging to the King. We obliged them to leave us their cannon, which conſiſted of nine pieces. We had already deſtroyed all their horſes and black cattle; and we made them ſtill give us under their hands, that the favour we ſhewed them, was only to prove to them, how greatly we deſire to treat them as friends.

That very evening the articles of capitulation were ſigned: and I had in my camp the hoſtages I required.

The 4th, at peep of day, I ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the fort; the garriſon filed off, and the number of their dead and wounded raiſed compaſſion in me, notwithſtanding my reſentment of the manner in which they had made away with my brother.

The ſavages, who had in every reſpect, complied with my deſires, had laid claim to the

the pillage. I oppoſed it, but the conſternation of the Engliſh was ſo great, that they ran away, and left behind them even their flag, and a pair of their colours. I demoliſhed their fort, and M. le Mercier cauſed their cannon to be deſtroyed together with the one which had been granted them by their capitulation, the Engliſh not being able to take it away.

I haſtened away, after having firſt deſtroyed the caſks of liquor, in order to obviate the diſorders which they muſt have infallibly occaſioned: one of my ſavages took ten Engliſh and brought them to me: I ſent them away by another.

I loſt in this attack only two French and one Pany *(a)*, *I* had ſeventeen wounded, of whom were two ſavages; excluſive of, ſeveral wounds ſo ſlight as not to require the ſurgeon's aſſiſtance.

I marched this day about two leagues, and cauſed our chief ſick to be carried on litters by detachments.

The 5th *I* arrived about nine o'Clock at the camp, which had been abandoned by the Engliſh. *I* ordered the intrenchments to be demoliſhed. and the houſes to be burnt to aſhes. This done, I marched on, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to burn all the houſes in the neighbourhood. I encamped at three leagues diſtance.

(a) The name of a ſavage habitation.

The 6th I ſet out early in the morning to the place where we left our waggons, and arrived there about ten o'clock, we put our wheel-carriages in order, diſtributed proviſions to the detachment, carried off the reſt, and found ſome things concealed. After which we burned the *hangard*. I embarked and went on till ſix o'clock in the afternoon; when I was obliged to encamp upon account of very heavy rains.

The 7th I continued to march, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to inform M. de Contrecœur of the ſucceſs of our campaign; I burned as I went along all the ſettlements I met with, and I made a ſurrender about four o'clock, of my detachment to M. Contrecœur.

Capitulation granted by M. de Villiers, captain, commander of the troops of his majeſty, to the commander of the Engliſh troops in the fort of Neceſſity. July 3, 1754, *at eight o'clock in the Evening.*

AS it never was our intention to diſturb the peace and harmony that reigned between two princes in friendſhip; but only to revenge the murder committed on one of our officers, the bearer of a citation, and on his eſcort; as alſo to hinder any ſettlement on the lands belonging to the king my maſter.

On theſe conſiderations we are willing to ſhew mercy to all the Engliſh who are in the ſaid fort on the following conditions.

Article

Article I.

We give the Engliſh commandant leave to retire with all his garriſon, and to return peaceably to his own country; and promiſe him to hinder any inſult being offered to him by the French; and to keep, as far as lies in our power, all the Savages, who are with us, within bounds.

II. He ſhall be allowed to go out and carry every thing with him that belongs to him; excepting the artillery, which we keep.

III. We grant them all the honours of war and leave to go out, drums beating, with a ſmall cannon; being deſirous to prove by this favour we treat them as friends.

IV. That as ſoon as the articles ſhall be ſigned on both ſides, they ſhall take down the Engliſh ſtandard.

V. That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French ſhall go to ſee the garriſon file off, and take poſſeſſion of the ſaid fort.

VI. That the Engliſh having ſcarce any horſes or oxen, it ſhall be allowed them to hide their effects and come back for them when they have got horſes; And for this purpoſe, they may leave as many people to take care of their goods as they ſhall think proper; on condition they give their word of honour, not

to form hence-forward, any ſettlement in this place, nor on this ſide of the mountains.

VII. That as the Engliſh have one officer, two cadets, and all the priſoners they have made at the aſſaſſination of the ſieur de Jumonville in their power; and promiſe to ſend them back with a ſafe-guard to fort du Queſne, ſituated on the river Ohio; We for their ſure fulfilling this article, as well as this treaty, require, that Jacob Vambraan and Robert Stobo, both captains, do remain hoſtages with us, until the arrival of the French and Canadians above-mentioned.

We on on our part, oblige ourſelves to grant an eſcort, for the ſafe conducting back theſe two officers, upon the return of our French, who are to be ſent back in two months and a half at fartheſt.

This with a duplicate thereof, was ſigned upon one of the poſts of our blockade, the day and year above-mentioned.

James Mackaye
By Meſſ. Geo. Waſhington
Coulon
Villiers.

NUMB.

NUMBER X.

Tranſlation of a letter wrote from fort Du Queſne by Robert Stobo, an Engliſhman, one of the hoſtages for the ſecurity of the capitulation granted to the Engliſh troops commanded by M. Waſhington.

SIR, July 28, 1754.

A Savage, called Tuſquerora John, has brought hither an account, which very much alarms all the ſavages on this river: He ſays, that the Half-king, Manaquehiha, and a Chevanon chieftain, &c. to the number of thirty ſeven, have been taken by the Engliſh, and made priſoners. He ſays alſo, that John Mainot, alias James Cork, of Montier's company, told him, that theſe thirty ſeven ſavages were to be hanged as ſoon as they arrived at the Engliſh ſettlements, and adviſed him to make his eſcape. This was artfully reported on the eve of a great Council between the Chevanons, French, and the ſavages their allies. The French made them a long and elegant harangue, aſſuring them, they came not here to *wage war againſt any body*, but the Engliſh would not ſuffer them to live at reſt; that they hoped the ſavages, their children, would not ſuffer their father to be inſulted in his old age: that, notwithſtanding, if they had a mind to join the Engliſh,

liſh, they might do it; but if they had a mind to think better, they would remain in peace. * This is all I could learn of this council.

The French ſeconded theſe words with two large belts, and two ſtrings of wampum. Their allies did the ſame. There were alſo conſiderable preſents: to wit, ſixteen fine guns, two barrels of powder, balls in proportion, ſixteen fine ſuits of cloaths, many others of leſs value, and coverings of cloath. The Chevanons made them no anſwer, nor did I hear they have as yet.

It is aſſured, that the Half King and his people were killed, and that their wives and children have been delivered to the barbarity of the Cherokees and Catabocs, who are aſſembled to the number of three hundred at the new magazine. Whether this be true or not, 'tis certain, that the ſavages are very much alarmed; and were it not for this news, a number of different nations would have eſpouſed your intereſt: if this news be true (which I cannot think) you can depend upon no ſavages in theſe quarters; which will make our re-

* It is therefore proved by the teſtimony, even of one of the Engliſh, the moſt prejudiced againſt the French, that theſe latter did not excite the ſavages to the war. This conduct may be compared with the cunning and artifices of the Engliſh, which appear ſo clearly in Waſhington's journal.

turn very hazardous: but this is not to be conſidered.

The Chevanons, Picko, and *(a)* Delawago, have held a great Council among them: I know not the reſult of it. I have engaged ſome of them to join you, and aſſured them they would be very well received, and that there were many fine preſents for the ſavages at the new magazine. A preſent made a-propos at this time, might be of great ſervice. If we could engage the Catabocs and Cherokees to conclude a peace, *I* believe every thing would go well. In the combat of the meadow, near the fort of Neceſſity, we had no more than ſix or ſeven ſavages, which we call our own. I believe they were of the nation of Mingo, and little eſteemed in the nation, particularly one John Engliſh: He is of the number of thoſe who are looked upon to be ſpies: *I* knew he was to join you with his men, but be on your guard againſt them. I ſend you this by the brother-in-law of Manaquetahas, a good ſubject whom you may truſt.

You'll ſee on the other ſide the plan of the fort drawn as well in detail as time and circumſtances would permit me. The garriſon at preſent is not two hundred ſtrong, all workmen. The reſt are gone off, to the number of a thouſand, in different detachments. *I*n two

(a) Savage nations. The Delawago may be the ſame that M. Waſhington calls Delawares.

days

ays *Mercier*, a good officer, will quit the fort, and leave behind him only *Contrecoeur*, and ſome young officers and cadets. They ſent ſome days ago a lieutenant, with two hundred men for proviſions, and wait impatiently for them. At his return, the garriſon will conſiſt of four hundred men. They ſeem here to miſs la Force greatly; Since his departure there were no ſcouts ſent out. He is much regreted and deſired here, which makes me judge he was not an ordinary man. When we engaged in the ſervice of our country, it was expected it would be at the expence of our lives. Let no one therefore be deceived. Conſider the advantage that will accrue from the expedition without the leaſt regard to us. For my part I would die ten thouſand deaths to enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing this fort in the hands of the Engliſh. The French are ſo vain of their ſucceſs at the meadows, that I would ſooner die, rather than hear them ſpeak of this affair. Attack this autumn as ſoon as you poſſibly can; gain over the Indians; perſuade them with judgment; in a word, do what you can and you will ſucceed: an hundred truſty Indians are ſufficient to ſurprize the fort. They have acceſs every day here. They may hide themſelves, ſo as to be able, without much difficulty, to ſecure the guard with their *Tamkanko*: let then the gate be ſhut, and the fort is our own. Here is never in the night but Contrecoeur and the guard, which never exceeds fifty men, all the

reſt

reſt are lodged without the walls in cabins built all round. For the love of God do not communicate this letter but to a few perſons; and let thoſe be ſuch as you can depend on: that they have here notice of every thing, is not to be queſtioned; if they come to be informed of what I write, the loſs of the little liberty which I am allowed, would be the leaſt that could happen me. I ſhould be deſirous to hear from you; but let no mention be made of this in your letter. Pleaſe to excuſe the faults which might have crept into this letter, in which there is no great coherency; and believe me your's.

Signed, Robert Stobo.

P. S. Be kind to this Indian. Schinga and Deleavy George are come to this place.

I underwritten, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify the having tranſlated from the Engliſh into French the above letter, the original of which remains depoſited in the ſecretary's office of the governor-general of New France.

Signed ‡ Perthuis.

We the governor-general and intendant of New France certify, that M. Perthuis, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, has tranſlated the above letter; and that we have heard all the Engliſh, who have been in

this city, ſay, that the ſaid ſieur Perthuis ſpoke Engliſh well, and tranſlated it in perfection. Done at Quebec the 13th of September 1755.

Signed Vaudreuil and Bigot.

NUMB. XI.

Inſtructions given to General Braddock by his Britannick Majeſty.

GEORGE R.

INſtructions for our truſty and well-beloved Edward Braddock, Eſq; major-general of our armies, whom we have appointed general and commander of all and every of our troops and forces, which are actually in North America, or which may hereafter be ſent thither, or therein raiſed; to vindicate our juſt rights and our poſſeſſions in theſe parts. Given at our palace of St. James's, the 25th of November 1754, and of our reign the 28th.

Whereas, by our commiſſion dated the 24th of September laſt, we have appointed you general and commander of all and every our forces which are, or hereafter ſhall be in North America; In order that you may be the better enabled to anſwer the confidence of which we have given you that teſtimony, we have

have thought proper to give you the inſtructions that follow.

1. We, having given our moſt ſerious attention to the repreſentations of our ſubjects of North America, and to the preſent ſtate of our colonies; to the end that our juſt rights and poſſeſſions may be guarded againſt all encroachments, and the trade of our ſubjects ſecured; have given directions, that two of our regiments of foot, which are now in Ireland, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and colonel Dunbar, be immediately ſent over to America, with a ſuitable train of artillery, tranſports and proviſions, under the convoy of a certain number of our ſhips of war.

2. Upon receiving our preſent inſtructions, you ſhall embark on board one of our ſhips of war, and you ſhall make ſail for North America, where you will take upon you the command of our forces; and whereas we have appointed Auguſtus Keppel to command the ſquadron of our ſhips of war in the American ſeas, we require and enjoin you to maintain a perfect underſtanding and correſpondence with him, ſo long as you ſhall be employed in the ſervice you are now in; and we have given the ſame orders to the ſaid commander of our ſquadron, with regard to the conduct and the correſpondence which he is to hold with you.

3. And whereas a number of men ſhall be wanting to compleat our ſaid regiments, which

are to be compoſed of between five and ſeven hundred men each; and our intention being; that there be forthwith raiſed two other regiments of infantry, compoſed of a thouſand men each, to be commanded by governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperel, whom we have appointed to be colonels thereof, in our provinces and colonies of America; we have given our orders that the rendezvous of the regiment under the command of the former ſhall be at Boſton, and that under the command of the latter at New York and Philadelphia; and that our ſeveral governors ſhall take beforehand the meaſures neceſſary to contribute to their utmoſt, ſo as to have about three thouſand men in readineſs to be enliſted for this purpoſe, who are in proportion to the number that ſhall be raiſed to be put under your command, and are there to be ſubject to the diſtribution which you ſhall make of them in the adove-mentioned corps.

And whereas we have thought proper to detach Sir John Saint-Clair our quarter maſter general, and James Petcher, Eſq; our commiſſary for muſters and reviews in America, to the end that they may make all neceſſary preparations againſt the arrival of the two regiments from Europe, and for the raiſing of the forces above-mentioned; you ſhall inform yourſelf immediately upon your arrival, of the governors who ſhall be the neareſt at hand, and in time and place of all the governors,

and

and likewiſe of the quarter-maſter-general, and the muſter-maſter-general, what progreſs they ſhall have reſpectively made in the execution of our above orders, to the end that you may be able to act in conſequence.

4. It having been repreſented to us, that the forces of Cork, which are to go over under your command, may want proviſions on their arrival in America, we have cauſed to be ſhipped, &c.

5. Whereas we have given orders to our ſaid governors, to provide a quantity of freſh proviſions for the uſe of the troops on their arrival; and whereas they are equally obliged to ſupply our officers with what they ſhall ſtand in need of, whenever they ſhall be obliged to go from place to place, and every thing that ſhall be neceſſary for travelling upon land when they cannot go by ſea; likewiſe, to obſerve and obey all ſuch orders as ſhall be by you given them, or by thoſe whom you ſhall, from time to time, appoint to quarter the troops, haſten the tranſports, provide every thing neceſſary for ſuch number of troops as ſhall arrive, or ſhall be raiſed in America: and whereas theſe ſeveral ſervices are to be executed at the charges of the governments where they ſhall take place; It is our will and pleaſure, that in order to the execution of all theſe parts, you do apply to our aboveſaid governors, or to ſome one of them, according to the exigency of the ſeveral caſes.

6. And

6. And whereas we have moreover commanded, our ſaid governors to uſe all their efforts, in order to prevail on the reſpective aſſemblies of their provinces to raiſe ſpeedily a conſiderable a ſum as they ſhall be able to obtain, by way of contributing to a common fund, to be proviſionally employed in America for the general ſervice, and in particular, to defray the expence of raiſing the troops which are to be employed in compleating the regiments above-mentioned: It is our will, that you give them all the advice and aſſiſtance you can towards advancing theſe advantageous projects, by ſettling ſuch a common fund as may be fully adequate to the *project of ſervice* which we propoſe to you *(a)*; but you are to take ſpecial care to hinder the giving any money to the troops which are to be under your command; ſuch payments excepted, as ſhall be made in conſequence of the ſupplies of effective men which ſhall be made.

7, Having alſo commanded our ſaid governors to correſpond and confer with you on all matters, which may tend towards accelerating the ſaid levies in their reſpective governments, we require you to aid and aſſiſt them in the execution of our inſtructions; you are therefore not only to keep up a conſtant and frequent correſpondence with them by

(a) To know what this project was, ſee colonel Napier's letter in the following pages.

letters,

letters, but you are alſo to viſit the ſaid provinces, or ſome of them, if you think it for the advanage of our ſervice; and you ſhall put our ſaid governors frequently in mind of uſing all poſſible diligence; ſo as the execution of our projects may not be obſtructed by the flowneſs of the levies, which are to take place in their reſpective provinces, or by the want of tranſports, proviſions, or ſuch other things as ſhall be neceſſary, in whatever time or place you ſhall think convenient to aſſign for their general rendezvous.

You ſhall alſo aſſemble a council of war, which we have thought proper to appoint, and which ſhall conſiſt and be compoſed of yourſelf, the commander in chief of our ſhips, of ſuch governors of our colonies and provinces, ſuch colonels and other land officers as ſhall be found to be within a convenient diſtance of our ſaid general and commander of our forces; and it ſhall be with their advices, or of the plurality of them, that you will determine on all the operations which are to be executed by our ſaid troops under your command, and all the other important points which ſhall have a reference thereto; in the manner that ſhall be judged moſt effectual for attaining the ends for which the ſaid troops are deſigned, and for correſponding faithfully with the truſt which we have repoſed in you.

8. You are not only to keep up the moſt entire harmony and friendſhip poſſible with the

the ſeveral governors of our colonies and provinces, but even with the chiefs of theſe Indian nations. You are to endeavour to find out ſome perſon that is fit and agreeable to the Indian nations in the ſouthern parts, in order to ſend him to them for this purpoſe; in the ſame manner as we have directed colonel Johnſon, to repair to the northern nations, as being the perſon, whom it is believed, they will receive with the greateſt pleaſure; to the end that they may be prevailed on to ſhare and act with our forces, *(a)* in the operations which you ſhall deem the moſt advantageous and expedient to undertake.

9. You ſhall from time to time, inform yourſelf of the nature and value of the preſents which ſhall be granted by the aſſemblies of our different colonies and provinces, according to cuſtom, in order to invite and engage the Indian nations to our intereſts and alliance; and you ſhall be very attentive that a juſt and faithful diſtribution be made thereof, by ſuch perſons as ſhall be charged to make it; and you ſhall aſſiſt theſe perſons with your beſt advice towards the ſaid diſtribution: you are to be alſo particularly attentive that theſe preſents be deſpoſed of prudently, in all the

(a) The orders given to Colonel Johnſon were long before this inſtruction. The project was therefore long ſince concerted, and the invaſion of the country ſituated on the Fair River, entered into the plan of this project.

occaſions

occaſions in which they ſhall be made; and in thoſe exigencies againſt which, lieutenant governor Dinwiddie, might have made a proviſion, with regard to the Indians, in conſequence of the ſums of money which have been already granted in his towns, or elſe where.

10. It having been repreſented to us, that the French and the inhabitants (*a*) of our different colonies, hold a correſpondence, and carry on an illicit trade together; you are to take ſpeedily all the meaſures neceſſary to prevent the continuance of ſuch dangerous practices; and in particular that no ſort of proviſions be ſupplied, under any pretext whatſoever, to the French, &c.

11. Whereas we have thought that on the preſent occaſion, it was fit to ſettle and aſcertain the rank which is to be obſerved between the officers bearing our immediate commiſſions, and thoſe who ſerve under the commiſſions of our governors, &c.

12. You will receive, here-to annexed, a copy of the orders which we ſent, the 28th of Auguſt 1753, to our ſeveral governors, wherein we enjoin them, and exhort our colonies and our provinces of North America,

(*a*) The king of England acknowledges here the general law, which prohibits an European colony to drive a trade with the ſavages diſperſed on the territory of another colony: it is by virtue of this law that the French were authorized to confiſcate the goods of the Engliſh who came to trade on the Fair River.

to unite together for their common and mutual defence; and you will ſee by our directions of the 5th of July (of which likewiſe a copy is herewith delivered to you) our repeated commands for the enforcing our orders of the 28th of Auguſt 1753; and that we werepleaſed to direct that the ſum of ten thouſand pounds might be remitted in ſpecie to governor Dinwiddie, and to give leave to our ſaid lieutenant-governor to draw for another ſum of ten thouſand pounds, on the conditions mentioned in our order of the 3d of July laſt, which was ſent to the ſaid lieutenant-governor the 27th of September following; the ſaid ſum to be employed towards the general ſervice and protection of North-America. The ſeveral other letters of the 25th and 26th of October and 4th of November, to our governors, to Sir William Pepperel and to colonel Shirley (copies of which will be delivered to you, together with the preſent) will make you thoroughly acquainted with our orders and inſtructions, which have been made known on this occaſion to our officers and governors; and will enable you to inform yourſelf of their execution, and the advantages which ſhall have reſulted therefrom.

13. You are not to fail ſending us, by the firſt and all opportunities which may offer, a clear and particular account of your ſteps, and of every thing that is eſſential to our ſervice, by letters to one of our principal miniſters and ſecretary

cretary of ſtate, from whom you will receive, from time to time, ſuch orders, of a more ample nature, as ſhall be neceſſary for your conduct.

" I under-written; counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify the having tranſlated from the Engliſh into French, word for word, the King of England's inſtructions to general Braddock: the original of which remains depoſited in the ſecretary's office of the governor-general of New-France." Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed PERTHUIS.

" We governor-general and intendant of New-France, certify that M. Perthuis, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, has tranſlated from Engliſh into French, the King of England's inſtructions to general Braddock; and that we have heard it ſaid by all the Engliſh who have been in this city, that the ſieur Perthuis ſpoke Engliſh, and tranſlated it to perfection." Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed

Vaudreúil and Bigot.

NUMBER XII.

Letter from M. Robert Napier, written to M. Braddock, by order of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland.

London, Nov. 25, 1754.

SIR,

HIS Royal Highneſs the Duke, in the many audiences which he gave you, has entered into all the particular details of the ſervice which you are going upon; and, on Saturday, communicated to you his notions as a *better* rule for the execution of the different articles of his majeſty's inſtructions: and as you were deſirous that nothing of what paſſed then, ſhould eſcape your memory; he has commanded me to ſet down every thing in writing. His royal highneſs has this ſervice very much at heart; it being of the utmoſt conſequence to the territories in the obedience of his majeſty in America, and the honour of the troops which he employs in the ſaid countries. As you are particularly concerned in this affair, his royal highneſs takes the greater ſhare therein, as he has made intereſt with his majeſty to procure you this command.

It is the opinion of his royal highneſs, that immediately after your landing, you conſider what

what kind of artillery and other implements of war it will be neceſſary to tranſport to Wills-creek, for your firſt operation on the Ohio; and this, in ſuch quantity as that it may not be wanting in the ſervice; likewiſe that you form a ſecond field train, with good officers and ſoldiers, who are to be ſent to Albany, and be in thorough readineſs to march for the ſecond operation at Niagara. You are to take under your command what number you ſhall think neceſſary, from the two companies of artillery which are at Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland, as ſoon as the ſeaſon will permit you; being however mindful to leave a force ſufficient for the defence of the Iſland. Captain Ord, a very experienced officer, and of whom his royal highneſs has a great opinion, will join you as ſoon as he poſſibly can.

When the regiments of Shirley and Pepperel ſhall be increaſed to a number ſufficiently conſiderable; it is the opinion of his royal highneſs that you cauſe them to encamp, not only for the ſpeedier diſciplining them, but alſo to attract the attention of the French, and throw them into a ſuſpenſe with regard to the place you purpoſe to attack. His royal highneſs makes no doubt, but all the officers and captains of theſe corps will anſwer his expectation, in modelling and diſciplining their reſpective troops.

The moſt exact and the ſtricteſt diſcipline is always neceſſary: but it can never be too much

much inſiſted on in the ſervice now under conſidertion. His royal highneſs therefore recommends to you the enforcing it among your troops in the moſt uniform manner. You are alſo to guard againſt all panic terrors, in the preſence of the Indians, with whom they are not yet acquainted; and whom the French will not fail making uſe of, in order to terrify them. His royal highneſs recommends to you the viſiting your poſts night and day; that both the colonels and other officers of the army be exact in doing the ſame; and that you yourſelf ſet frequent examples thereof; and to give your troops to underſtand, that no excuſe will be admitted for any ſurpriſe whatever.

If the expedition of the Ohio, ſhould take up more time than has been imagined; and if, while it is carrying on, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments ſhould be found ſufficient to undertake the reduction of Niagara; it is the opinion of his royal highneſs, that you conſider, whether you can repair thither in perſon, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio to an officer, on whom you ſafely rely; or whether it may not be more conducive to the ſervice, to ſend to theſe troops ſome perſon whom you might have had in view for the command of the Ohio? This is an extreme nice caſe, and demands great attention on your part; inaſmuch as colonel Shirley is next to you in command.

Therefore

Therefore if you do ſend ſuch an officer, he muſt conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to appear only in the capacity of a friend and counſellor, with regard to colonel Shirley; who ſhould be wrote to accordingly he not being verſed in military affairs: and his royal highneſs thinks, that this officer ought not to produce, or make mention of the commiſſion which he ſhould have from you, to take the command of him, excepting in the caſe of abſolute neceſſity.

The above arrangements may ſerve as a foundation to proceed upon, in caſe the expedition of Crown-point * may take place, whilſt the reduction of Niagara is laboured at.

If it ſhould be neceſſary for you, after the Ohio expedition, to repair to Niagara with all your forces; his royal highneſs adviſes you to examine with the greateſt attention, whether it may not be poſſible to go from the Ohio to Niagara by a ſhorter way than that of the lakes; which you ought not to undertake under any pretext whatſoever, without a moral certainty that proviſions will not be wanting, &c.

As to the deſign which you have to make yourſelf maſter of Niagara, which is of the utmoſt conſequence; his royal highneſs re-

* This is Fort-frederic: In Engliſh, Crown-point.

commends

commends it to you to leave nothing to chance, in the purſuit of that enterpriſe.

As to the reduction of Crown-point, people are perſuaded that the provincial troops will be of much more ſervice; being better acquainted with the country; and his royal highneſs recommends to you, after the taking the fort, to conſult with the governors of the neighbouring provinces about a proper place to build a fortification on, which hereafter may may ſcreen both the fortreſſes and provinces.

As to what relates to the forts which you ſhall think neceſſary to erect, which they perhaps are but too fond of in that country; his royal highneſs recommends it to you to obſerve, that they may be contrived in ſuch a manner as not to require a ſtrong garriſon; and he is of opinion, that you ſhould not build forts that are conſiderable, and of ſtone, without having previouſly ſent plans and eſtimates of the ſaid forts to England, in order to be approved of by the government. His royal highneſs thinks that forts of earth, with pointed ſtakes and palliſadoed with good ditches, * capable of containing two hundred men, and in caſe of need, four hundred will be ſufficient for the preſent.

As lieutenant colonel Lawrence who commands at Nova-ſcotia, has for ſome time paſt formed a plan of making himſelf maſter of Beauſejour; his royal highneſs is of opinion

* Stockaded Forts.

nion, and adviſes you thereto, that you conſult him about this point, both as to the time and manner of executing this project. His royal highneſs foreſees that his majeſty's ſhips will be of great uſe in this expedition; not only in tranſporting the troops, ſtores, and warlike implements, but alſo in intercepting the ſtores and other ſuccours which the French may receive either by Bay-Francoiſe or from Cape-Breton, to Baye-Verte, on the other ſide of the Iſthmus.

As to your winter-quarters, your operations being over, his royal highneſs recommends to you, to examine whether the French may not be for making ſome attempts the next ſeaſon; and what place they will more probably fix on. In this caſe, it would be more expedient to cantoon your troops on that ſide, and at ſuch diſtance from one another, as that you may eaſily reunite them for the general defence. But you will be able to determine yourſelf with regard to this, upon the appearances of things, and from the intilligence which has been recommended to you, to procure by all ſort of means, immediately on your arrival. It is needleſs mentioning to you, how attentive you ought to be, not to ſuffer yourſelf to be ſurpriſed. His royal highneſs thinks, that the greateſt difficulty you ſhall meet with in your errand, will ariſe from the ſupplies of proviſions for your troops. He therefore recommends to you to

be very careful in this reſpect, and to take for this purpoſe as ſoon as poſſible, certain meaſures with the governors, your quarter-maſter-general, and your commiſſaries. *I* hope the extraordinary ſupplies which are carried you by the fleet, and the thouſand barrels of beef deſigned for your ſubſiſtence, will facilitate and enſure the ſupplying of your troops.

I believe to have omitted above, none of all the points on which you deſired to have ſome eclarciſement. If ſo: you may expoſe them now, or hereafter. If you will be ſo good as to communicate to me, ſuch points as may embarraſs you, I ſhall take it upon me to lay them before his royal highneſs; and to acquaint you with his manner of thinking on the ſubject. I heartily wiſh you much ſucceſs; and as this ſucceſs will greatly rejoice all your friends, I earneſtly deſire, that you will be perſuaded, nobody will take greater pleaſure in being informed thereof, than he who is, &c.

Signed

Robert Napier.

Afterwards is written.

I the underwritten, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify the having tranſlated

lated from the Engliſh into French, word for word, the above letter; the original of which remains depoſited in the ſecretary's office of the governor-general of New-France. Done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty five.

Signed Perthuis.

And lower down is written.

We the governor-general and intendant of New France certify, that M. Perthuis, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, has tranſlated the above letter; and that we have heard all the Engliſh, who have been in this city, ſay, that the ſaid ſieur Perthuis ſpoke Engliſh well, and tranſlated it to perfection. Done at Quebec the thirtieth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty five.

Signed

Vaudreuil and Bigot.

NUMB. XIII.

Tranſlation of a Regiſter of Letters written by M. Braddock, to ſeveral Miniſters and Engliſh Noblemen.

LETTER I.

To Henry Fox Eſq; Secretary at War.

SIR, Williamſburgh, Febr. 24, 1755.

AFTER a paſſage of ſeven weeks in which I had very bad weather, I arrived here, where *I* found every thing in great confuſion as I expected it: much money has been already expended here, though very little has been done as yet. Sir John St-Clair is juſt arrived here, and I refer you to his letters, to be informed of the bad condition of the independent companies of New-York: the time ſince my arrival has been too ſhort, to be able to give you an account of them by myſelf. The governor here is of opinion, that the people of this province, are well perſuaded of the neceſſity of giving all the aſſiſtance in their power towards forwarding an affair that concerns them ſo nearly. Governor Dobbs is well enough ſatisfied with thoſe of his province, and hopes to be more ſo hereafter.

Penſylvania will do nothing, and ſupplies the French with every thing they want. I ſhall

ſhall execute your orders punctually, as ſoon as I ſhall have it in my power: I have been under a neceſſity of appointing a commiſſary for about fifteen days. I ſhall have occaſion to write to you, and ſhall acquaint you with all ſuch particulars as I ſhall think moſt intereſting. I am with a profound reſpect, ſir, &c.

LETTER II.

To Colonel Napier, Adjutant-General.

SIR, Williamſburgh, Feb. 24, 1755.

AFTER having gone through all the hazards of the ſea from which *I* got ſafe, I arrived here the 20th of this month. The governor has given me hopes that the people will grow more tractable: and that they ſee the neceſſity of ſupplying me with all the ſuccours they can, in an undertaking which concerns them perſonally. So little order has ſubſiſted hitherto, that much has been ſpent in doing very little. Sir John St-Clair arrives at this inſtant, and you will ſee by his letters (to which I refer you) what is now done. This man is indefatigable, and has done all that man is capable of doing. You will ſee, by his letters, the condition of the troops in this country; particularly that of the infamous free companies of New-York. The province of Penſylvania the moſt numerous, and the richeſt of theſe provinces, will do

do nothing, and ſupplies the French. The Six-Nations have now declared for the French. I have as yet but four twelve pounders, which will not be attended with any great effect if *I* am be obliged to make a breach, but I cannot help that. I ſhall endeavour to get ſome from the men of war. We have yet nothing in readineſs to tranſport them. My moſt humble duty to his royal highneſs. *I* am, my dear colonel, your moſt humble, &c.

LETTER III.

To Sir Thomas Robinſon, his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State.

SIR, *Williamſburgh, March* 18, 1755.

I Arrived here the 20th of February: the Gibraltar having ſailed two days after, it was not poſſible for me to ſend you by her, an account of the preparations which have been made in the provinces for the ſervice of our expedition; nor of the meaſures which I muſt take to make it ſucceed.

Immediately after my arrival, I forwarded with all ſpeed, letters to the different governors of this continent, in order to prevail on them to exert themſelves in their reſpective governments towards obtaining ſupplies of men and money, purſuant to the orders they had received from

from his majeſty: recommending to them, to lock up their ports in ſuch a manner as to render it impoſſile for the enemy to draw any proviſions from us; which has been executed here by governor Dinwiddie. I have likewiſe, agreeable to his majeſty's inſtructions, recommended to them the eſtabliſhing a common fund out of the money granted by the ſeveral colonies; which will ſerve as a proviſional capital towards defraying the expence of the general ſervice of our expedition, and might be at my diſpoſal; offering to make myſelf accountable to each of them for the employment that ſhall be made of it. Though this is the beſt ſtep that can be taken towards promoting the ſervice I am engaged in, and the ſureſt road to ſucceſs; yet the jealouſy of the people, and the diſunion of many colonies, as well between them in general, as between each of them in particular, are ſuch, that I almoſt deſpair of ſucceeding. I am indeed very ſorry to tell you, that in all appearance, *I* ſhall meet with great difficulties in obtaining of theſe colonies, the ſupplies which his majeſty expects from them; and which the general intereſt requires. The different governors of the provinces of this continent will, I think, inform you of what each of theſe provinces has already done in favour of this undertaking, and what they are to do hereafter: All I can inform

you

you of for the preſent, is, that governor Dinwiddie has already obtained from his province, twenty thouſand pounds currency: and that he hopes to obtain of the aſſembly, which he has appointed to meet for this purpoſe, the firſt of may next, a larger ſum. North-Carolina has granted eight thouſand pounds; that of Maryland, ſix thouſand pounds; each the current coin of their reſpective governments.

Though Penſylvania is, without contradiction, the richeſt and the moſt concerned in the event of this expedition; yet it has ſupplied nothing hitherto. *I* have therefore wrote to the governor a very full letter; which he is to lay before the aſſembly of that province, if he judges it neceſſary, to make them ſenſible of their duty: I ſend you a copy thereof.

I make no doubt but governor Shirley has acquainted you with the progreſs made in the raiſing of the American regiments: I take his to as good as complete, from the accounts that have been given me. As to that of ſir William Pepperrel, I cannot give you any account. I have taken meaſures with Mr. Keppel, that theſe regiments may have, with all the expedition poſſible, the arms and cloathing deſtined for each of them. All the tranſports are arrived, excepting the Severn, which has on board a company of ſir Peter Halkett's regiment, which is expected

pected from day to day: I have had no ſick as yet. Inſtead of cantooning my troops, as I at firſt propoſed, according to the account ſent to England by Sir John Sinclair, I have ordered the tranſports to ſail up the river Potomack and to fall down to Alexandria, and land them where I deſign to encamp; the wind being favourable and apprehending no riſk.

All the new raiſed troops of Virginia and Maryland are likewiſe to join me at Alexandria; I ſhall take the picked men to complete the Engliſh regiments to ſeven hundred men each, and ſhall employ the others in the following manner, as has been agreed on with Governor Dinwiddie; viz. to form two companies of carpenters, compoſed each of a captain, two ſubalterns, two ſerjeants, and thirty men. The firſt of theſe will be abſolutely neceſſary to make roads and boats, repair the carriages, &c. and *I* ſhall make uſe of the remainder of theſe ſupplies to cover the main body, and guard it againſt all ſurprizes. Theſe companies will be paid by the provinces, and on the ſame footing with thoſe of Old England, allowing for the difference of currency, which is about 25 per cent. I have alſo raiſed a company of guides, compoſed of a captain, two aids, and ten men: I have eſtabliſhed poſts from the head quarters to Philadelphia, Annapolis in Maryland, and Williamſburgh; in order to keep up the

correſpondence which is neceſſary for me, with all the governors of theſe provinces.

As ſoon as I can poſſibly aſſemble my troops, collect forage, proviſions, and other things neceſſary for a march, I ſhall proceed; and ſet about reducing the French forts on the Ohio. It is a great doubt whether I ſhall meet with any graſs on the other ſide of the Allegany mountains before the end of April, which is the ſooneſt I can get there. I have it not now in my power to give you a juſt account of the number of troops I ſhall have with me. Suppoſing I compleat the Engliſh regiments to four thouſand four hundred men, the companies of carpenters and ſcouts to the number abovementioned, with the independent companies of New York, which fall very ſhort of their complement, as do thoſe of Carolina; I believe the whole will not exceed two thouſand three hundred men. I propoſed to have augmented them, by means of the provincials, to the number of three thouſand. But as I thought it neceſſary to have an interview with governor Shirley, and that accordingly I ordered him to meet me at Annapolis in Maryland, I have put off giving the neceſſary directions for this augmentation till after the ſaid interview.

I expect governor Shirley at Annapolis in leſs than three weeks. Governor Dinwiddie offers to attend me thither, and I have writ to

thoſe

thoſe of York and Penſylvania to meet me there, if the affairs of their provinces do permit it. In this interview, at which commodore Keppel is alſo to be preſent, I intend ſettling the operations, which we ſhall determine to be carried on towards the northern parts, and entering into an examination of the means, which we may make uſe of with advantage, to recover the frontiers of the Indians, that are contiguous to ſeveral colonies, and ſecure them for his majeſty; and I ſhall endeavour at the ſame time to excite the governors to the exertion of all their influence, towards promoting the King's ; ſervice; in an affair of this importance. I ſhall lay hold, on the firſt opportunity to acquaint you with what ſhall be agreed upon. I cannot tell you juſtly what forces the French have on the Ohio; but if the various accounts which we have from thence may be depended upon, they exceed three thouſand, the major part of which is compoſed of Indians. It is a general opinion that the Iroquois are in the French King's intereſt, excepting the Mohawks *(a)*. Governor Dinwiddie flatters himſelf greatly, that theſe laſt will unite themſelves with us, as alſo the Catawbas, a warlike nation, though ſmall in number, and ſome Cherokees. All the other ſouthern nations appear now to be linked to the French;

(a) Theſe are the Anies.

but as their attachment ought *to be aſcribed* to the ſucceſs which they have *lately obtained over us*, it may be hoped that the appearance of our army, or the leaſt advantage which we ſhall gain over them, will be productive of a great alteration in their diſpoſitions.

I ſend you encloſed the extract of a letter from the officer who commands at Chowaguen written to governor Dinwiddie *(b)* which proves the monſtruous and abſurd falſhoods, which the French make uſe of, to impoſe on the ſavages, and gain them over to their intereſts.

M. de Lancey, lieutenant-governor of New York, propoſes to me in his letters, to employ the money which is to be raiſed in his government, and is deſtined for the preſent expedition, in building forts for the particular defence of that province; as this propoſal appears to me to be now quite out of ſeaſon, I wrote him word, that all the aſſiſtance that could be given by the colonies, could not be better employed than in forwarding the preſent expedition.

Governor Dinwiddie writes me word, that M de Lancey has agreed to a neutrality, between the inhabitants of Albany and the neighbouring Indians in alliance with the French. I do not ſee what reaſon he has had to ſuffer

(b) The moſt this letter proves is, that the commander of Chouaguen accuſes the French of falſhood.

a thing

a thing of ſo extraordinary a nature *(c)* but as I think it may be attended with great inconvencies, I intend giving him my opinion of it in the ſtrongeſt terms. I eſteem myſelf very happy in being aſſociated in his majeſty's ſervice with an officer, of M. Keppel's abilities and good diſpoſitions; which appears by his readineſs to enter into every meaſure that may be conducive to the ſucceſs of this undertaking. As but four pieces of twelve pounds were given me with the train, and that a greater number appeared neceſſary to me, I applied to him to have four more from his ſhips, with the neceſſary ammunition, which he has granted me with the greateſt readineſs poſſible; as alſo a deal of other things which I ſtood in need of: he has likewiſe let me have thirty ſeamen, with the officers neceſſary to conduct them, to attend on the army in its march; I make uſe of them with advantage in building battoes, in order to aſſiſt us in tranſporting our artillery and heavy baggage; and for their ſubſiſtence I fixed it, with the commodore, to three ſhillings and ſixpence a day, for the officers, and ſixpence for the ſailors; which I ſhall be obliged to take out of the quotas furniſhed by the provinces. As I do not find that the proviſions which have been made by

(c) What? it was then very extraordinary, that the inhabitants of Albany, would not believe themſelves in war with the French and the ſavages their allies?

the

the colonies for the ſubſiſtence of our troops, are ſufficient, I ſhall be obliged, in order to ſupply the deficiency, to take a thouſand barrels of beef and ten tons of butter, out of the proviſional ſupply ſent from England.

The juſtice which I muſt do governor Dinwiddie, will not allow me to conclude this letter without acquainting you, with the zeal which he has ſhewn, and the pains which he has taken in all ſhapes, for the good of the ſervice on this occaſion; when I conſider the faction which has prevailed over him in his government, I find he has ſucceeded in a manner beyond all hopes.

I have his Majeſty's orders to deliver all the French *who ſhall be taken in this expedition to Commodore Keppel in order to be carried to France*; but as M. Keppel, has had no directions from the admiralty, in this reſpect, and that *this affair appears to him of too nice a nature* to act in it without order, I muſt beg orders from his Majeſty of a more ample nature in regard to this affair, and that as ſoon as poſſible. The Severn is juſt arrived.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

To the Governor of Penſilvania.

Alexandria, in Virginia April 15, 1755.

SIR,

I Am informed, that there are in your province a great number of Indians from the river Ohio, who have been expelled from thence by the French. I deſire you will let them know that I march, with a body of the King's troops, to wreſt from the French the encroachments which they have made on that river, in order to re-eſtabliſh the Indians our allies, and to defend them therein againſt their enemy. As theſe Indians muſt be perfectly acquainted with that country, and that they may be of great uſe to me, in the courſe of my expedition, I beg you will prevail on them to come and join me at Will's Creek, with their choice men; and to aſſure them, that they ſhall be well uſed, and ſhall not want any thing neceſſary to them. I beg you will acquaint me with what you have done in this affair, as alſo what Indians *I* may expect from your province. I hope the ſtates of your government will take care of the ſubſiſtence of the

the women and children, until the return of thoſe people: as they would be very troubleſome to me if they came to the camp.

LETTER V.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Robinſon, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Alexandria, April 19, 1755.

SIR,

I Had the honour to write to you from Williamſburgh the 18th of laſt March, by a veſſel which was to ſail in eight days after.

The 13th of this month, Governor Shirley, accompanied by the other Governors, of whom I made mention in my laſt, as alſo Colonel Johnſon met me here.

*I*n this interview, M. Shirley has communicated to me a plan, formed by him and Governor Lawrence, of which he told me he had given you an account of, for attacking the French forts in Acadia; as I entirely approved of it, I ſent immediately my orders to Colonel Monckton, to take upon himſelf this command,

mand, and to ſet about this expedition, without delay.

I have alſo ſettled with him the plan, for the reduction of crown point, which is to be undertaken, only by provincial troops, raiſed in the northern colonies to the number of about four thouſand four hundred, under the command of Colonel Johnſon, a perſon recommended by his great influence over the ſix Indian nations, and by the reputation which he enjoys throughout all the northern colonies.

As the moſt important of all our enterpriſes is that of Niagara, I propoſed to M. Shirley that he would charge himſelf with this commiſſion, which he has done readily. *I* have accordingly given him my orders for taking his own regiment along with him, which ought to be complete: and Pepperel's, ſuch as it is, in order to go upon this expedition with all the diligence poſſible. I have heretofore given my orders for the reinforcing the garriſon of Chouaguen, with two companies of Pepperels, and the two independent companies of New York; which I looked upon as a neceſſary ſtep, in order that the works might be put in ſuch a ſituation, as may hereafter preſerve the garriſon, and ſecure our troops a retreat.

As M. Shirley, is the officer who is next to me in command, and that I have the higheſt

opinion of his integrity and his zeal for his majeſty's ſervice, I have authorized him, in caſe no treaſurer was named in the northern parts, to draw upon his Majeſty's treaſurer to the amount of what will be expended towards the ſervice of his province.

I wrote to the Duke of Newcaſtle, to prove in this manner the neceſſity of acting on account of the diſtance we are at, and the impoſſibility of conferring together on this ſubject.

(He writes, that Governor Shirley propoſed to him, to treat the two new raiſed regiments as thoſe of old England.)

The incloſed copy will inform you of the different ſubjects that have been canvaſſed in the council, and which I brought on the carpet at the interview which I had with the Governors. As his Majeſty has entruſted to me the care of employing ſuch proper perſons as *I* ſhould find moſt fitting to gain over, the Indian nations to his intereſts; this, in the council appeared to me of much greater conſequence than I had imagined, and to require the greater attention, as their conduct towards us for ſome years paſt, is an indication of the ſix nations being diſſatisfied with us, and that a great want of confidence appears on their ſide, in the arms of his majeſty. *I* propoſed Colonel Johnſon as the propereſt man for this errand, on account of the great credit which he enjoys among them; my choice

choice has been unanimouſly approved of by the council, and I accordingly ſent him a ſpeech which he is to make in my name, together with the moſt extenſive powers to treat with them. He is ſingly entruſted with the conduct of this negotiation: for this purpoſe I advanced him the ſum of two thouſand pounds, of which eight hundred are to be immediately given them in preſents, and to be repayed by the colonies, the remainder is for future preſents, and in order to pay what it may coſt to make them move. I have likewiſe given him power to draw on Governor Shirley for larger ſums, in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, without any other condition than that of keeping an exact account of the employment which he ſhall make of it; the exigency of the ſervice, and the neceſſity of my relying upon him, engage me to ſhew him this confidence, and the inſtances of probity which he has given on every occaſion, are to me aſſurances that he will make no bad uſe of it.

You will be ſufficiently informed, by the minutes of the council which I addreſs to you, of the impoſſibility of obtaining from many colonies the eſtabliſhing a general fund agreeable to the inſtructions of his majeſty, and the circular letters which you have addreſſed to me for the ſeveral governors. Since the laſt accounts which I have given you of this, very little has been ſupplied either in men

or

or money by all theſe provinces. The ſum of twenty thouſand pounds currency has been expended in Virginia, altho' the money has not been yet paid: the provinces of Penſylvania and Maryland perſiſt ſtill in their refuſal to contribute, the province of York has raiſed the ſum of five thouſand pound currency for the troops of that province, which I have deſtined for the particular ſervice of the garriſon of Chouaguen; the ſum of four thouſand pounds has been moreover raiſed in this province for the fortifications of this government, and above all the metropolis; I have deſired M. De Lancey to get it to paſs for the general ſervice of the expedition, but I am much afraid it will not be granted.

Governor Shirley will acquaint you, with the expence New England has been at in the prodigious levy of men, which has been made in that government for the *enterpriſes towards the north (a)*, the other governments have done little or nothing. I cannot help taking the liberty to lay before you the

(*a*) Prodigious levies made for the enterpriſes towards the north! Let us recollect the ſituation of Canada with regard to the Engliſh colonies, and the ſcope of theſe enterpriſes will be perceived by every body. Such a number of preparations, and ſuch conſiderable expences certainly could not in fact have for ſole object the ungrateful country which extends from the Apalachian mountains to the fair river, and which is ſcarce worth the arming one ſhip.

help

neceſſity there appears to be of impoſing a tax on all his majeſty's dominions in America, agreeable to the reſult of the council, to repay the large ſums which muſt be advanced for his ſervice, and the intereſt of theſe colonies in this important criſis.

I am obliged to acquaint you, that the expence which relates to the ſervice of America, will exceed the contingent of each province much beyond what I had perſuaded myſelf it would, and even beyond what the government has imagined. Among other innumerable cauſes which may be mentioned of the conſiderable augmentation of the expence attending the ſervice of my province, I ſhall mention the number of horſes, waggons, and battoes, neceſſary for the tranſporting the artillery, baggage, &c. the couriers and the exceſſive price of the day labourers. Though I am fully bent upon proceeding with the greateſt œconomy, whether it be repaid by the provinces or not, I ſhall be blamed by his majeſty if by miſtaken ſavings, conſidering the ſituation of affairs, it ſhould occaſion the miſcarriage of the intended operations.

You will give me leave, ſir, to refer you to the minutes of the council in regard to the propoſitions which I had made to theſe provinces, to which no anſwer has been made, particularly, in what relates to the battoes, which ought to be built on the lakes: the building of thoſe which are to be on lake Ontario,

is to belong to governor Shirley's province, and the expence of these battoes is to be paid by commodore Keppel.

Since my departure from Williamsburgh, *I* have had the honour to receive one of your letters, with his majesty's directions to augment all the regiments of this continent to a thousand men each; I have accordingly employed towards the southern parts such officers as appeared to me most fitting for the purpose of recruiting; and I dispatched a courier to M. Lawrence, in order that he might execute these his Majesty's orders relative to the regiments of his province, withall the expedition possible.

I have his Majesty's orders to create no new officers in these regiments? but this augmentation of troops, together with the many small detachments which I must make, has already obliged me to name a number of second subalterns, out of those who have been recommended to me from home, to serve without pay, till there are vacancies. There must be an officer to each of these detachments, who is to take care of the provisions and the chest, as likewise to mark out the camps, which as there are no villages, must be done every night, and which are the more necessary in this country, as the woods are very thick; the officer by this means is nearer at hand to have his troop under his eye, and has it more in his power to prevent all surprise from the Indians, who is always

ways greatly to be apprehended, whatever precaution is taken; for this and many other reaſons which I could recite, I cannot expreſs to you the many difficulties I fear I ſhall meet in the ſervice which I have been entruſted with, towards the northern parts of America, if the number of officers be not augmented in proportion to that of the troops.

The little dependence that is to be made on this country, obliging me to draw the proviſions requiſite for the ſervice of this expedition, from many colonies diſtant, the one from the other. I have been under the neceſſityof appointing two aſſiſtant commiſſaries for the victualling, to whom I have aſſigned four ſhillings per day: I have alſo named an aſſiſtant quarter-maſter, with the ſame pay owing to the neceſſity which I lie under of employing ſir John St. Clair, at three hundred miles diſtance from me now, he being taken up with making roads and bridges, and providing us with waggons, horſes, &c. for the tranſporting our ſtores, proviſions, and artillery. *I* have met with ſo many obſtacles in getting carriages, which could not have been ſurmounted, had it not been for the zeal and activity of the officers, and others employed to this purpoſe. The want of forage, is an obſtacle which I ſee no remedy for, but letting out the horſes to feed on the mountains. I propoſe

to

ſetting out to-morrow morning from hence on my way to Frederic, in order to go by the way of Wills-creek, where I ſhould have been before; but that I have been obliged to wait for the artillery: and I am much afraid the ſame will delay me ſtill longer. I hope to be on the montains in the firſt days of May, and in the courſe of the month of June to be able to diſpatch you an expreſs; who ſhall inform you of the iſſue of our operations on the Ohio.

Notwithſtanding I have uſed every method for that purpoſe, I have not been able to procure more ample intilligence of the number of the French at preſent on the Ohio; but I expect to receive more certain accounts of them when I get to Wills-Creek: and I ſhall take my meaſures accordingly.

I cannot enough expreſs to you, the ſatisfaction I feel in being employed in his majeſty's ſervice in America, at a time when I have it in my power to form and execute the plan of attacking the French in all their conſiderable poſts, which have been ſo many invaſions on his majeſty's lands in North-America; from the northern ſide, to that of the ſouth. I ſee a great appearance of ſucceſs in each of them; *but I perceive ſo cloſe a connection between each of theſe projects, that the ſucceſs of one, is a ſure pledge of that of the other.* If *I* therefore ſucceed in the firſt and moſt important of theſe projects, I am perſuaded,

perſuaded, will ſucceed in ſtopping the progreſs of the French in their new ſettlements; and that this will be ſufficient to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of his ſubjects of this continent; and to rouſe them from their indolence, and the neglect of their duty, with which they have been, for ſome time paſt, ſo juſtly reproached.

I am,

With the greateſt reſpect, &c.

Lower down is written.

I the under-written, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify the having tranſlated, from the Engliſh into French, word for word, all the letters contained in the preſent regiſter of major-general Braddock's: the original of which remains depoſited in the ſecretary's office of the governor-general of New-France." Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed PERTHUIS.

And ſtill lower.

We governor-general and intendant of New-France, certify that M. Perthuis, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, has tranſlated from Engliſh into French, all the

letters contained in the preſent regiſter; and that we have heard it ſaid by all the Engliſh who have been in this city, that the ſieur Perthuis ſpoke Engliſh, and tranſlated it to perfection. Done at Quebec, September the thirtieth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed

Vaudreúil and Bigot.

Other Letters of Mr. Braddock's, found in a Book a-part from the above Regiſter.

To his Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle.

Williamſburgh, March 20, 1755.

My Lord,

I Lay hold on this firſt opportunity of executing your grace's commands by acquainting you with my arrival here, and that of the veſſels which have tranſported the troops under my command. My voyage was attended with great fatigue, but the tranſports have been better off; there not being one man ſick on board of them.

"I am as yet ignorant, what effect the orders of his majeſty (with regard to the preſent expedition) will have produced on the minds

minds of the generals.* I cannot ſay that they have had, as yet, all the influence which it was reaſonable to expect they would have: I labour hard, and ſhall always labour to excite them to uſe their utmoſt to prevail on the provinces to bear the expences of this expedition; it is their duty to do it, in order to ſhew their attachment to his majeſty, and correſpond with what they owe to their own intereſts."

To this purpoſe I wrote to governor Shirley to meet me at Annapolis in Maryland, and I deſired the governors of New-York and Penſylvania to come alſo; in caſe the buſineſs of their governments allow it.

I ſhall not enter into a circumſtancial detail of all the things which take up my time in the ſervice in which I have engaged myſelf, having wrote at large upon this ſubject to the ſecretary of ſtate; you will pleaſe to give me leave to refer your grace to his letter, for your more particular information.

Shirley's regiment is almoſt completed, if not already ſo: that of ſir William Pepperel is, I believe, in great forwardneſs. When I ſee Mr. Shirley, I ſhall ſettle with him about the beſt manner of employing his forces towards the north; and I am to ſet out on my

* The Enterpriſe therefore of the Engliſh is to be aſcribed to poſitive orders from the Court of London; and not to the over-heated zeal of the Governors of the Engliſh Colonies.

march with thoſe which I ſhall have under my command, in order to the reduction of the French forts upon the Ohio; and I flatter myſelf I ſhall get, at the end of April, beyond the Alegany mountains.

I have had from commodore Keppel all the aſſiſtance poſſible; and in the governor of this province, I have found a man, who aſſiſts in the moſt handſom manner in ſupplying the wants of this expedition. By the induſtry of this governor, this province is now diſpoſed to ſupply abundantly what it can; which is what I dare not flatter myſelf with, from the other governments.

As ſmall coin would here be of great utility for paying the troops, I beg your grace would give orders to the contractors, M. Hanbury and M. Thomlinſon, to ſend over, as ſoon as poſſible, if they have not done it already, four or five thouſand pounds in dollars and half dollars; the pay-maſter of the troops having nothing now by him but gold.

I am,

With the moſt profound Reſpect, &c.

To the Earl of Hallifax,
(without date.)

My Lord,

THE intereſt which your lordſhip takes in every thing that relates to his majeſty's dominions in America, and the ſhare which you have in the adminiſtration of their government, call upon me to give you an account of my ſituation; which I hope will not prove diſpleaſing to you. Your lordſhip has, without doubt, been informed of the good ſucceſs that has attended the tranſports hither; and the meaſures which I took to ſucceed, on my arrival, in promoting the ſervice of his majeſty, under my direction, and which I hope will tend to his intereſt, and that of his ſubjects on this continent.

I have ſome time ſince, ſent to the ſecretary of ſtate an account of the ſupplies which I have received from all the colonies on the preſent occaſion; there is no need of ſending you the particulars thereof.

I am ſorry to have been under the neceſſity of ſaying, that in general the inhabitants of theſe colonies, have all ſhewn a great deal of indifference for his majeſty's ſervice, and their own intereſts; however they do not all fall under this cenſure, and particularly thoſe of the province I am now in, are not to be compared

pared with their neighbours, and may not have deſerved reproaches.

I am perſuaded the account which your lordſhip has received of the good diſpoſition of the northern colonies; and in particlar that under the command of Mr. Shirley, ought greatly to have enhanced his merit with his majeſty.

I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my indignation againſt the provinces of Penſylvania and Maryland, which being quite as much concerned in the event of this expedition as this here, and much more ſo than any other on this continent, refuſe to contribute in any ſhape, towards the ſupport of this project; and even what they propoſe, they do it only on ſuch terms as are intirely contrary to the prerogatives of his majeſty, and his inſtructions to his governors.

You will perhaps be glad to hear that I have aſſembled the governors Shirley, and thoſe of New-York, Penſylvania and Maryland; and that in this aſſembly I have ſettled the plan which is to be purſued in attacking at once, the French in their encroachments on us at Nova-Scotia, at Crown-Point, and at Niagara, and which we are to do with all the vigour poſſible. (Here he repeats all that he had written to Sir Thomas Robinſon in his letter of the 19th of April 1755, which is the 5th in the above regiſter.)

I have given a full power to Colonel Johnſon, to negociate with the ſix nations and their allies,

allies, and with all the other *Indians* of the Weſt, as far as he ſhall find it neceſſary; and I delivered him words, which he is to preſent to them in my name; I have likewiſe given him money to make preſents and have authoriſed him to draw on M. Shirley, if he finds it neceſſary, on this occaſion.

" M. Peronal has preſented me a contract paſſed in 1701 by the ſix nations, by which they make over to his majeſty all their hunting grounds: this ceſſion takes in, on the ſide of the lakes Ontario and Erie, an extent of country of ſixty miles in depth. I delivered this contract to Colonel Johnſon, with orders to preſent it to them in my name, and to aſſure them that I am come here only to retake theſe countries from the French *(a)*, and preſerve them for their uſe."

I ſhall not purſue word for word what was determined upon in the council, in regard to the building of veſſels on lake Ontario; we agreed, the commodore and myſelf, that the direction of this affair ſhould be entruſted to M. Shirley, and that it was proper he ſhould have the liberty to determine, at his will, the bigneſs and ſtrength of theſe veſſels.

(a) It is very ſtrange, that notwithſtanding this pretended contract ſo much inſiſted on in Europe, the Engliſh ſhould be reduced in America to the neceſſity of endeavouring to perſuade the ſavages, who are not the dupes of it. that they make war only to re-inſtate them in their country.

I pro-

I propoſe marching in order to attack, with all poſſible ſpeed, the fort on the Ohio. I thought I ſhould have been by this time on the mountains, but I have been kept back by a number of difficulties, not only on account of the ill ſituation of the country, but likewiſe the great number of horſes, waggons, and other implements which have required much time before they could be made uſe of.

I ſet out to-morrow for Frederick on my way to fort Cumberland in Wills's Creek; and before the end of June, I am in hopes I ſhall be able to give ſome account of the affair of the Ohio.

I hope it will be in my power to execute the plan which I have formed of recovering from the French the moſt conſiderable of the encroachments which they have made on his majeſty, on the frontiers of the northern part of America. If I ſucceed in the moſt important of theſe operations, I am perſuaded his majeſty will eaſily put a ſtop to the projects of the French which daily grow more and more extenſive on this continent. I am with reſpect, &c.

Another letter, which was, it is preſumed, written to M. Robinſon, *though it bears not the name of the perſon to whom it is addreſſed.*

At fort Cumberland in Wills's Creek, June 5, 1755.

SIR,

I Had the honour to write to you from Frederick in the laſt days of April.

The 10th of May I arrived here, and the 17th the reſt of the army came up alſo here from Alexandria, after a march of ſeven and twenty days, and having met with great delays and difficulties, not only on account of the bad roads, but alſo the want of forage, and indeed the want of zeal in the people for the ſucceſs of our expedition.

I have at laſt aſſembled all the troops deſtined for the attack of fort du Queſne; they amount to two thouſand effective men, eleven hundred of whom are ſupplied by the ſouthern provinces, who have ſo little courage and good diſpoſition, that ſcarce any military ſervice can be expected from them, although I have employed the beſt officers to form them.

My deſign on my arrival here was to ſtay but a few days, only to refreſh my troops; but the difficulty of getting waggons and

horſes to croſs the mountains has detained me a whole month.

Before I ſet out from Williamsburgh, the quarter-maſter-general told me, I might depend on two thouſand five hundred horſes and on two hundred waggons, as well from Virginia as Maryland; but I had great reaſon to miſtruſt it; from the experience which I have had of the deceit of all the perſons of this country with whom I have had any dealings; wherefore, previous to my departure from Frederick, I deſired M. B. Franklin, poſt-maſter of Pennſylvania, who has great credit in the province, to conclude a bargain for an hundred and fifty waggons with the horſes neceſſary, which he has executed with equal quickneſs and probity; and indeed this is almoſt the only inſtance of capacity and honeſty that I have ſeen in all theſe provinces. All theſe waggons and horſes have joined me, and on them I ground all my hopes, the fine promiſes of Maryland and Virginia have ended in a ſupply of twenty waggons and two hundred horſes. With this number I ſhall be able to ſet out from hence, though I ſhall meet with infinite difficulties, eſpecially as I ſhall march with half the quantity of ſtores which I expected to have had; and having been obliged to ſend before me a detachment, in order to fix upon a place to lodge our ſtores in, on the Allegany mountains, which are five days march from hence.

I ſhould

I ſhould never finiſh, were I to enter into a detail of the innumerable inſtances which I could give of the want of honeſty, which I found both in general, and in particular; and the moſt abſolute contempt of truth, which I have met with in the courſe of this ſervice. I cannot help adding to what I have already told you, two or three inſtances.

An agreement was put into my hands, made by the governor of Virginia, for the purchaſe of eleven hundred bullocks, which were to be delivered in June and in Auguſt, for ſubſiſting the troops: this bargain had been concluded on the credit of twenty thouſand pounds of the country granted by the aſſembly for his majeſty's ſervice towards this expedition. I immediately regulated my diſpoſitious accordingly, but in a few days after the perſon, who had engaged in this agreement, came to tell me, that the ſtates had refuſed to fulfil the governor's engagements, and conſequently the bargain was void. As this was of the utmoſt conſequence, I offered immediately to become myſelf ſecurity for the money, on the terms ſtipulated in the contract, but the contractor rejected my offers, and required of me a third over and above what was ſtipulated in the ſaid agreement, nor would he engage for the forth-coming of the oxen in leſs than two months, at which time they would be of little or no uſe.

Another example: the Maryland agent employed to ſupply the troops with proviſions, had got ſome together, which at firſt ſight were found to be all ſpoiled; and *I* ſaw myſelf under the neceſſity of ſending an hundred miles in order to buy up others.

This diſpoſition of the people not only delays the ſchemes of his majeſty, but likewiſe encreaſes the expences to near double: "theſe are occaſioned by thedifficulty of carriage thro' countries hitherto uninhabited," and ſtill unknown and impracticable to the inhabitants themſelves, who dwell in the lower parts, meeting every where with a continual chain of mountains, ſo that the expence ſurpaſſes greatly the principal, this has been the cauſe of my leaving at Alexandria a quantity of ſtores, which would be very neceſſary for me here. The conduct of all theſe governments to me appears unexampled. This negligence is ſomewhat excuſable in the lower ſort, becauſe their trouble has not been ſufficiently rewarded, and that having been employed in the publick ſervice on former occaſions, the payments were neglected. We learn from experience, what the ill conſequences are of ſuch proceedings.

As I have his majeſty's orders to employ all poſſible means to fix the Indians in our intereſts, I have aſſembled ſome from the frontiers of Penſylvania, and eſpecially of the Six-nations, and have had already two or three con-

conferences with them. I have made them ſome genteel preſents: they are now fifty in number, but I hope to draw a far greater number to me. When I arrived in America, they aſſured me that I might depend on a very great number of the ſouthern Indians; but they have been totally alienated from us by the bad conduct of the government of Virginia: the truth is, that in all the dealings with the Indians, theſe people have behaved towards them with ſo little regard, and ſo much *diſhoneſty*, that a very large expence would be now neceſſary to gain back their confidence, and none is to be had even in thoſe who have embraced our intereſts.

The ſituation of the country is ſuch, that the French can have no coommunication there but by means of the Indians, on whoſe report there cannot be much reliance; I am informed, that their number is very ſmall at fort Du Queſne, but that they expect a ſtrong reinforcement.

They write me word that two thouſand ſtand of arms are arrived. They were intended for New-England, but ſhipped off for Nova-Scotia.

The battoes deſtined to tranſport the troops which are to form the attack of Niagara and of Crown Point, are getting ready. However, New-York, which is to ſupply the greateſt part of them, does not ſhew as much zeal for this affair as I could wiſh.

It

It having appeared to me, that a road through Penſylvania would be ſhorter and more proper for eſtabliſhing a communication, after the troops have paſſed the Allegany mountains, I deſired the Governor to make one in that province, from Philippenſburgh to the river of Yaughy-Aughane. I am juſt informed, they are working on it conſtantly, and that it will be compleated in a month. This road will be of the greateſt importance, both to facilitate the arrival of convoys, and to ſecure my communication with the northern colonies.

I now wait only for my laſt convoy to ſet out on my march, and if no accident intervenes, I am in hopes to begin it in five days by the Allegany mountains. I expect to meet many obſtructions, agreeable ro the accounts which have been given me. The diſtance from this place to the fort is one hundred and ten miles: we ſhall be continually employed in making a road as we proceed, which muſt be done with infinite labour a croſs mountains and rocks of an exceſſive heighth, which are ſteep, and divided by torrents and rivers.

I will take the firſt opportunity to acquaint you with my ſituation, after leaving this place, and am with the profoundeſt reſpect, &c.

I under-written Counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec certify, the having tranſlated from Engliſh into French, word for word,

the above three Letters, the original of which remains depoſited at the ſecretary's office, of the Governor General of New France Done at Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed Perthuis.

And ſtill lower: We Governor-General and Intendant of New France, certify, that M. Perthuis Counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, has tranſlated from Engliſh into French the above three letters, and that we have heard all the Engliſh who have been in this town ſay, that the Sieur Perthuis ſpoke Engliſh, and that he tranſtated it to perfection. At Quebec, the thirtieth of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed, Vaudreuil and Bigot.

We could add in this place two other letters, one from General Braddock to Commodore Keppel is dated Williamſburgh, February 27. by this letter he begs he would cauſe the cohorns, carcaſſes; and other engines deſtined to carry fire into veſſels or intrenchments, to be immediately landed. The other is from M. Robert Orme, aid-de-camp to the General, and addreſſed to Sir Peter Halket. He gives him different orders, and mentions to him among other things: " His excellency, orders you to receive all the deſerters, and to cauſe them

them to be ſupplied with every thing they ſhall demand: he deſires, that if they chuſe to enliſt, they may be taken without difficulty, and that neither the term nor appearance be conſidered, in order to paſs them as effective."

Letter from M. Charles Lawrence to General Braddock.

Halliſax, May 10, 1755.

SIR,

I Had the honour to receive your letter, dated from Annapolis in Maryland, April 7. by a veſſel arrived two days ago from Philadelphia. You will give me leave to aſſure you, that nothing could give me greater pain, than that you ſhould have the leaſt idea of my having failed in my duty, and the due deference which I make a point of ſhewing to thoſe I owe any. 'Till the inſtant I received your letter, *I* was neither informed of your arrival in Virginia, nor of the extenſiveneſs of your commiſſion; and no ſooner have I been apprized thereof, than I have taken the firſt opportunity to ſend you a general ſtate of the ſituation of affairs in this province, and an account of the forces and troops which his Majeſty has here, with remarks on the ſeveral particulars: I flatter myſelf you will have received them, and that they

they will meet with your approbation. I allow my having communicated to Commodore Keppel, as he has acquainted you; the projected expedition, in order to put a ſtop to the French encroachmets at Beauſejour and the river of St. John, which has been concerted between Governor Shirley and myſelf. And what gave riſe to this, were the primary orders which captain Rous, commander of one of his Majeſty's ſhips, had received from the Admiralty, to take orders from the Commodore, which together with ſome other advices, made me conclude, that M. Keppel was in Virginia; but *I* had then no knowledge of your arrival in America, nor even any certainty of your coming there, and *I* could leſs ſtill form any certain judgement as to the nature and extent of your commiſſion. Such is the real ſtate of the caſe: I hope you will do me juſtice.

Lieutenant-Colonel Moncton, with the troops of the province under his command, is now, I believe, very near, if not before the French fort of Beauſejour; and as I have cut off all the communication by land between this place and the northern parts of the province, in order to put it out of the power of the French to get any intimation that may be prejudicial to our deſigns, I cannot acquaint you, with the progreſs that the Lieutenant Colonel has made. I ſhall do myſelf the

honour to inform you of the particulars of our enterprize by the firſt opportunity.

I ſhall be particularly attentive to your orders for augmenting to a thouſand men each of the regiments that are here, and ſhall loſe no time in doing it. If *I* was informed of the conditions on which thoſe people are to be raiſed, and what pay they are to have: but as the particular orders concerning the augmentation, are not yet come to my hands from England, and that no officer is yet arrived I believe you will judge it impracticable for me to proceed in it, till ſuch time as *I* ſhall have the inſtructions and aſſiſtances neceſſary.

Upon the advices which I received from New England, with regard to the men, raiſed there for governor Shirley's and Sir William Pepperel's regiments, and the difficulties met with in raiſing theſe recruits, I fear greatly that the augmentation of your troops will take up much time, and be at the end; but badly compoſed, if I ſhould be obliged to ſend there for the number which ſhall be wanting. But I hope to meet with better ſucceſs among the provincial levies now at Beauſejour, who, if I am well informed, are compoſed of good men, and may be enliſted more ſpeedily, and at leſs expence, than thoſe who may be taken from the continent, after the number of recruits already raiſed there.

In

In my letter of the 29th of March, I propoſed to governor Shirley to apply ourſelves to you, in order that his regiment, or that of ſir William Pepperel's, might come here to protect the province, in caſe I ſhould think it neceſſary: but obſerved, that afterwards I did not ſee any great neceſſity for a meaſure of this ſort, being on the point of receiving two thouſand, and between two or three hundred men who are at Beauſejour; the only paſſage by land to this place, by which we might have any thing to apprehend from our neighbours the French; I am ſtill, of this ſentiment; there being as yet, no real alteration in the face of affairs in America: however, ſhould a rupture happen with France (an event founded on appearances and reports) it would be extremely neceſſary for us to keep on our guard. I eſteem it my duty to acquaint you that in ſuch caſe, the three regiments augmented as it is propoſed, with the ſcouts, the militia, and all the forces that we can depend on, will no-ways be in proportion to the number of poſts which we muſt be obliged to defend; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that even in the heart of the province, we have what they call neutral French; inhabitants well armed, well experienced in the uſe of arms, and alſo are connected with the French

King; * ſo that upon the leaſt attempt which Canada ſhould make to invade us, I believe it is more than proabable that they would immediately join them. As I take this article to be of importance, I thought it my duty to ſubmit it to your reflection.

I under-written, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify the having tranſlated &c.

NUMB. XIV.

Speeches pronounced to the Savages, by order and under the inſpection of M. Johnſon; *and the anſwers which were made him.*

SPEECH I. §

To the Six-Nations, on the part of General Braddock.

Brothers, and Allies of the Six-Nations.

I Have already called you ſeveral times together, to treat with you about different affairs, of which I had no knowledge before

* The motions therefore of the French, were apprehended only in caſe of a rupture; that is to ſay an open war. This deſtroys the accuſations contained in the Memorials ſent by Mr. Cornwallis.

§ This Speech holds the firſt place in general Braddock's Regiſter. But it is likely it was not pronounced till after the one that follows.

I came

I came among you; and which are not yet known to your father the great king of England, of which I ſhall take care to inform him; and to offer to you in his name, the preſents that are here before you, which he gives you as a teſtimony of his paternal affection.

I have delayed you for ſome time, with your women and children, in hopes of ſeeing ſoon your brothers the Delawares, * but as their arrival is as yet uncertain, and that I know you do not love to remain inactive; and that moreover, the ſervice of the great king your father requires a quick aſſiſtance from you, I propoſe to you to accept the Hatchet; and to the end that you may exert your warlike diſpoſitions; I adviſe you to ſend your women and children to Penſylvania: I have recommended to the king's governor of that province, to take particular and brotherly care of them.

A fine Belt of Wampum.

Brothers and Allies of the Six-Nations.

IT gives me great pain to ſee how much you ſuffered yourſelves to be ill-uſed and

* Theſe Savages are likewiſe called Wolves. They had quitted the party of the Engliſh, ſince the aſſaſſination of M. de Jumonville.

deceived

deceived ‡ by your perfidious neighbours the French; and even by ſome of your brothers the Engliſh: The French have inſinuated to you that we who are your faithful brothers, deſigned to turn you out of all your hunting lands, and to ſeize on them for our own uſe: You were greatly impoſed upon, when you aſſiſted the Frenchman in executing the horrible plan which he lays to our charge, by putting himſelf in the real poſſeſſion of thoſe lands which we intended to ſecure to you for your own uſe ſolely, and your particular intereſt. I declare to you in the preſence of your chiefs and your warriors who are here aſſembled, and agreeably to the inſtructions I have received from the great king your father; that if you will *heartily* * *give me your aſſiſtance*; *I will re-inſtate you in the poſſeſſion of your lands*, of which you have been diſpoſſeſſed by French fraud; and *I* will at the ſame time, ſecure you an open trade in America, from the riſing to the ſetting of

‡ The French are here no longer charged with violences againſt the Savages, but with devices, to gain over their neighbours. How does this diſcourſe agree with thoſe of M. Waſhington? who endeavours to perſuade theſe ſame Iroquois, that he is come but at their requiſition, and on their repeated complaints.

* The Iroquois have been expelled by the French. It is deſigned only to put them in poſſeſſion of their property. It is they deſired the Engliſh to come; yet they are entreated *to lend heartily their aſſiſtance to the Engliſh*. The pretended deliverers are here obliged to petition.

the

the Sun. It is very well known, that I have no particular views or any other deſign, than that of ſerving mutally, the intereſts of the great king your father; and of the Six-Nations, and their allies; and I promiſe you to be your *friend* and your *brother* † ſo long as the ſun and moon ſhall endure.

A great Belt of Wampum.

I have been aſſured that when preſents were made you on former occaſions, ſome of our people have been ſo wicked as to provoke your young men to drink, and got by this means for a very ſmall matter, what had been given you. I have given orders to prepevent for the futre ſuch proceedings; by threatening with death, all thoſe who ſhould be convicted of this fault: and I beg you will lay before me your complaints againſt thoſe who ſhall act in this manner; and, as a *friend* and a *brother*, I will do you juſtice.

I have nothing farther to deſire, but to ſee you accept with pleaſure, the preſents which lie before you, and ſee you divide them among you, according to your cuſtom and your native equity. I hope they will prove agreeable to you, and you may from time to time, depend on receiving great rewards for your ſervices. I have given orders that arms

† What becomes of the Rights of the Engliſh to the Ohio, if they do not poſſeſs the country it waſhes, but as ſovereigns of the Iroquois.

powder

powder and balls, be diſtributed to ſuch of your warriors as want any.

Brothers, I have been informed of the perfidious conduct of the French, towards our late brother the Half-king; and to prove to you how ſenſible I am, as well as yourſelves of his ill-uſage; and hope that you will join with me to revenge him: I cover his death with this belt.

Brothers Delawares and Chevanons. *

You did a wrong thing in following the advice which the French gave you laſt Autumn, to aſſaſſinate a number of your brothers the Engliſh, in the habitations of Carolina; I am perſuaded this did not proceed from any inclination that was natural to you, but only that you acted by the inſtigation of the French: therefore if you acknowledge your fault, and that you will unite yourſelves to me frankly and chearfully; I am willing to forget this unfortunate tranſgreſſion, and I will ſtill receive you as brothers. This I confirm to you in the name of, and as authoriſed by the great king your father, with this ſtring of Wampum.

Signed JOHNSON.

May 15, 1755.

* The Iroquois Deputies, in whoſe preſence M. Johnſon ſpoke; could make him no anſwer relative to the ſuggeſtions which he aſcribes to the French, in the eloquent apoſtrophe, with which he addreſſes the Delawares and Chevanons.

SPEECH II.

The Speech of the Honourable William Johnſon *Eſquire, ſuper-intendant for the affairs of the Indians, to the warriors of the high and low Caſtle of the Iroquois Indians; in the preſence of lieutenant Butler of Rutherford's company, of captain Matthew Ferral, lieutenant John Butler; and of*

Meſſ. *Daniel Clauſe*, *Peter Warpalle*, *Secretaries for* Indian *Affairs.*

Meſſ. *William Printus*, *Jacob Clement*, *Interpreters.*

Brothers of the two Caſtles of the Aniés.

I Wipe away all tears from your eyes, and clean down your throats, that you may ſee and ſpeak without reſtraint. I am glad to ſee you, and I ſalute you heartily.

Gave a ſtring of Wampum.

I wiſh you could have conformed to what I deſired of you by a letter, which I wrote to you from New York immediately on my return from Virginia; wherein I begged, that all your chiefs and warriors would wait

for my return home; in order to hear the news and be informed of the orders which I received from his excellency general Braddock, (a great warrior) whom the king, our common father, has ſent to this country with a great number of troops, large cannons, and other implements of war; in order to protect you, as well as his ſubjects of this continent, and ſcreen you from the encroachments, and all inſults, on the part of the French.

I have been to meet this great man, with the governors of Boſton, New York, Penſylvania and Maryland: we alſo found there, the governor of Virginia, and another great man, who commands the ſhips of war belonging to the king in this part of the world. They deliberated in the great council upon many important affairs; among which great attention was paid to the advantage and intereſts of our brothers the Six-Nations and their allies.

Brothers. The tree which you and the reſt of the Six-Nations have ſo often, and ſo earneſtly deſired ſhould be replanted, is grown up by ſo powerful a hand, that its root will penetrate to the bottom of the earth, and its branches will form a refreſhing ſhade, to cover you and your allies withal. I am to acquaint you that, agreeable to the inſtructions which the great king your father has given to general Braddock, I am appointed to be ſole ſuperintendent over all the

the affairs which relate to you and your allies, in this part of the world. I invite you, and your brothers of the ſix united nations, and your allies to come and ſeat yourſelves under this tree; where you may freely open your hearts, and heal up your wounds; and at the ſame time I tranſport the ſhadow of the fire which was at Albany, and rekindle the fire of council and friendſhip in this place: *I* will make it of ſuch wood as ſhall make it produce the greateſt light and the greateſt heat. I hope it will prove advantageous and comfortable to all thoſe who ſhall come to light their pipes at it, and that its ſparks and fiery coals will burn all thoſe who are, or ſhall be its enemies.

I hope that you and all your brothers, will be pleaſed to augment the luſtre and advantage of this fire, in keeping and holding it always high, by uniting yourſelves with that diligence and zeal as may make it a bleſſing, not only to yourſelves but to all your poſterity. To attain and ſecure this ſalutary end, it is abſolutely neceſſary that you extinguiſh all fires that have been kindled by fraudulent and unnatural ways; which give light only to deceive you, and at long run, to annihilate you and yours.

A Belt.

Brothers, With this ſtring of Wampum I make clean the chamber of council, and clear

it ſo as nothing offenſive remain in it; and I hope you will be pleaſed to take care that no malignant ſpirit do creep in among us, and that nothing do interrupt our harmony.

Gave a ſtring of Wampum.

Brothers, It gives me concern to ſee, now at my return, that many among you of the two villages, have a mind to go to Canada. It would ſurpriſe me greatly, ſhould you, who have been our moſt faithful friends, and our neareſt neighbours, betray on any occaſion, a deſire of being impoſed upon by the wicked artifices of the French, who are ſo well known, and of whom you have had ſuch fatal tryals; eſpecially at a time, when that reſtleſs and perfidious nation breaks through the moſt ſolemn treaties, and tranſgreſſes the moſt eſſential duties of honour and juſtice. It would be the ſtrangeſt thing in the world! I flatter myſelf that there is no foundation for what has been told me on this occaſion. I requeſt of you, nay, I inſiſt on it, that none of you under any pretext whatſoever, have any correſpondence with the Frenchman, or receive any of his emiſſaries, nor any viſit from Canada, without my knowledge and approbation.

On this promiſe I give you this belt. I propoſe to call, immediately, your other brothers of the Six-nations to this preſent fire: I hope you will come hither along with them.

them. I ſhall pronounce a ſpeech of his excellency general Braddock's, it is accompanied with preſents for you, which the great king your father, has ſent by this warrior.

After a few Inſtants of Conſultation among themſelves, Abraham, *one of the Chiefs of the Upper Village, got up and ſpoke for the two.*

Brother,

YOU have called us together, to acquaint us with the news which you have brought with you; and we have heard all you have ſaid. We put off entering into a detail of all theſe affairs, till ſuch time as the Six-nationsſhall be aſſembled here.

Gave a ſtring of Wampum.

Brother, We return you thanks for that you have been pleaſed to wipe the tears off our eyes, and make our throats and this floor clean: We do the ſame by you with his ſtring of Wampum.

They gave a ſtring of Wampum.

Brother, To pleaſe you; we have met you at this place, and have with great attention, heard all you have ſaid; we thank you for your friendly intimation; we are rejoiced to ſee you here once more; and we ſalute you with this ſtring of Wampum.

They gave a ſtring of Wampum.

Brother,

Brother, We have often repreſented to our father, the great king, that the tree might be raiſed up again. We are thoroughly pleaſed at our father's yielding to our requeſt, and we thank him for it very ſincerely. we have had the greateſt ſatisfaction in hearing all you have ſaid relating to this tree; we ſincerely wiſh it may continue ſuch as you have deſcribed it in your ſpeech; and we are very grateful for all you have told us on this ſubject.

Brother, You have told us that the tree which ſerves us as a ſcreen, is now replanted at this place. You have cauſed the ſhade of it to be brought from Albany; and you have rekindled here, the fire of council and friendſhip, which ought to be compoſed of good, and everlaſting wood; ſo as it may be always very clear, and caſt a comfortable and beneficial heat on all thoſe that ſhall approach it as friends; while it burns and ſparkles on thoſe which are its common enemies. Our firſt fathers have kindled this firſt fire at Onondago, and have thence tranſported the ſmall coals, in order to light another at Quider *; this fire has never burned clear, and it was going out. We feel great ſatisfaction at your kindling this fire here.

* This is Albany, in the Savage Language.

Brothers,

Brother, You have invited us all, and our brothers of the Six united-nations and their allies, to come and ſeat ourſelves under the tree which you have ſpoke to us of; that we may there ſmoke our pipes at the fire of council, and labour jointly at preſerving it. We make no doubt but they will feel much joy at ſeeing it planted here; having been all deſirous to ſee it here. But we muſt poſtpone anſwering this article of your ſpeech till ſuch time as the nations ſhall be aſſembled all in a body.

Brother, We thank you for having cleaned out this chamber of council, and removed from hence, all that might prove offenſive therein. You may aſſure yourſelf we ſhall do our utmoſt to correſpond with your intentions, and to drive far away, whatever might tend to diſturb our mutual harmony.

Brother, You have told us that you had been informed ſome perſons among us, were going to ſee the French; and you put us in mind of their conduct towards our firſt fathers, which we remember perfectly well, for their bones are ſtill to be ſeen; we know the Frenchman is falſe and deceitful: he has given us very fine words, and his letters were ſoft, but his heart was full of poiſon for us. You, brother, know our affairs as well as we do ourſelves; and you know, the reſt of the Six-nations are jealous of us; becauſe we have uſed the Hatchet in the laſt

war

war againſt the Frenchman. Shall we paſs now for being falſe and deceitful? no. You may depend upon it, we ſhall not go to Canada upon any invitation of the Frenchman; for we are not enough their friends. Therefore you are not, brother, to give credit to all the reports which have been made you on this occaſion.

Brother, Once more we thank you heartily for all you have told us. We have already urged the neceſſity of aſſembling here the Six-nations, in order to give you a poſitive anſwer: we thank you for the invitation you have given us to meet you here with the reſt of our brothers. We ſhall not failto wait for them.

The Mohawk Chief of the Upper Village (Aniés,) *having deſired a Conference with Colonel* Johnſon, *in the preſence of the Secretary for the affairs of the Savages, and the two Interpreters:* Abraham, *ſpoke in the name of this Chief and ſaid;*

Brother,

WHEN you were at New-York, you ſent us word that you wiſhed our chiefs and our warriors would remain on their Matts, and wait for your return here. We have done it; and why ſhould we not, ſince, at all times, we have ſhewn ourſelves ready to oblige you? and

and we are the more depoſed to do what you ſay, as you acquaint us that you are the Tree which has been replanted in order to give us ſhelter; and we make no doubt but our brothers of the five other nations are all diſpoſed to obey you.

Brother, It is very true we have been always obedient, and always obliging to you; and when you intimated your deſire to us, that we ſhould remain in our Cabbins, our young men were ready to go out a hunting; but having been prevented by your order, from going, they now are in want of every thing for their ſubſiſtence. They have deſired us, *Chiefs*, to lay their wants before you. They ſtand in need of every thing, as they have not been out, and they beg you would let them have ſome powder and ſhot, in order to kill ſome Game for their ſubſiſtence. And as it will be ſome time before the other five nations do arrive, and therefore, before the preſents which the king our father ſends us, are delivered to us: all we requeſt is, that you give us, in the mean time, what is barely neceſſary for us.

Brother, As we foreſee that the troubleſome times are approaching, we renew to you the requeſts which we have ſo often made to the Government, for the building a Fortreſs for the ſecurity of our women and children; we hope you will be pleaſed to execute it at this time.

Colonel Johnſon's *Anſwer.*

Brothers,

I Am thoroughly convinced of your good diſpoſitions towards me, and your compliance at all times in liſtening to my word, and doing what I require of you. This is what has induced me to take upon me the detail of your affairs. The freſh teſtimony which you give me of your friendſhip, and your regard for me, will enable me to promote your intereſt much to your advantage, and my own ſatisfaction.

I am well perſuaded I have done you a great prejudice, as well as to your young people, in having detained them at this time, at home. Therefore I grant you readily, what you aſk me; and I will give you ſome powder and balls.

Before I left New-York I repreſented to your brother, the governor, the neceſſity of building a fortreſs where you might ſafely retire to with your families; and I, with pleaſure, acquaint you, that he has given me a full power to do it: and I ſhall give orders for the ſetting about it as ſoon as poſſible.

Signed

May 17, 1755.

JOHNSON.

A Letter from M. Johnſon *to M.* Arent Steevens, *Interpreter for the Province.*

SIR,

IN conſequence of the Inſtructions, which his majeſty has given his excellency general Braddock, he has entruſted me with the ſole ſuper-intendence, and the management of all the affairs that relate to the ſix United nations and their allies. You are therefore, to be attentive to follow the orders which you ſhall receive from me, in reſpect to this buſineſs.

I ſend you this letter by James Clement, with two belts of Wampum, both the one and the other for the five nations above: you are to deliver them in my name; and aſſure them, that the troops which are in march, and thoſe which may hereafter march for Chouaguen, are deſtined to reinforce that garriſon, and to ſecure it againſt the acts of hoſtility of the Frenchman, who has declared that it belonged neither to us, nor to the Six-nations; and that he would demoliſh it.

I have ſent a meſſage with a ſtring of Wampum immediately upon my arrival; but in caſe that ſhould not have been ſufficient; *I* at preſent ſend this belt. If you find that the

Five-nations are uneaſy, or alarmed at the march of theſe troops through their country, whether this ſhould proceed from their jealouſy, or the deceitful inſinuations of the French emiſſaries: you are to aſſure them, in my name, that they are deſigned for the ſecurity and advantage of the Six-nations and their allies. You are to exhort them not to hearken to any lyes which the French may make uſe of on this occaſion; whoſe deſire and intention are to fall upon us and them while we are aſleep, in order to cut off both us and them from the face of the earth: and they well know that the eaſieſt way to ſucceed, is to diſturb and deſtroy the brotherly love and confidence which has ſo long, and ſo happily ſubſiſted between us. You will make uſe of theſe or other like arguments, as the circumſtances may require.

The other belt, which I ſend you, is to acquaint them with the commiſſion I have from the great king, their father, which has been granted at their repeated inſtances; and alſo, that purſuant to general Braddock's orders, by this belt, I invite and call upon the Six United-nations to repar with their allies, to my houſe; where I have kindled the fire of council and friendſhip, and replanted the tree which ſhall cover with its ſhade both them and all thoſe who will ſhelter themſelves under it; that I have a preſent

to

to make them in the name of the great king, their father, a great deal of good news to tell them; and am to hold a council upon a great many affairs of the laſt conſequence, and which concern their happineſs and welfare. If you find that there are any practiſes made uſe of by the French emiſſaries in order to prevent them from meeting me; you are to employ the beſt arguments, and thoſe you ſhall judge moſt proper, in order to diſſipate theſe impreſſions: and you are to inſiſt on their obedience, and the condeſcenſions they owe us. If they they ſhould ſay that they are planting their corn, and that ſhould they come now, they muſt loſe their harveſt and want proviſions; You are to aſſure them that I ſhall take care of them, and that I ſhall indemnify them for the loſs which they ſhall ſuſtain on this occaſion: but you are to act prudently in this reſpect, and be cautious how you promiſe.

I have had an interview with the two *Anies* villages concerning theſe two belts: they have been ſatisfied, and have promiſed to join me here when the other nations come down; which is what you are to urge as much as poſſible.

I have ſent you by M. Clement, ſome goods to make uſe of, if you ſhould have occaſion: and when you have conducted

the

the Indians to the German Flatts, you will find proviſions at my houſe; of which I beg you will keep an account.

Signed

William Johnſon.

'A true copy of what has been done by the honourable William Johnſon Eſq; &c. and Peter Warpall, Secretary for the Indian affairs.'

I the under-written, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify the having tranſlated, &c.

NUMBER XV.

A Lettter written by Mr. William Johnſon, *to ſeveral Governors, relating to the Expedition againſt the Fort of* Crown-Point.

New-York, May 15, 1755.

BEING appointed commander in chief, of the forces of the colonies for the intended expedition of Crown-Point; I think it incumbent upon me to remove, to the beſt of my power, all the difficulties which may occurr in the ſervice, and obſtruct the ſucceſs of this undertaking. As a train of artillery is eſſentially neceſſary, that nothing can be done without it, and as it is to be ſupplied by the eaſtern colonies; I make no doubt but you will do your utmoſt to accelerate every thing relating to this article, in order that our march may not be retarded, and that we may not ſpend more time than is neceſſary, at Albany; which might confirm "the enemy's ſuſpicion of an attack, if unfortunately, they ſhould have notice of it." *I* fear greatly I ſhall want proper perſons to conduct a train of artillery. Therefore if you have in your government any perſons that are capable of being made engineers or bombardiers, or any other

other that is capable of conducting a train of artillery, I beg you will take them into the ſervice, according to your knowledge of their capacity. You muſt know that we ſtand in need of a great number of battoes, in order to the tranſporting our troops; beſides thoſe that are neceſſary for the train of artillery, ſtores and baggage. Each battoe muſt carry five hundred men. We have already thoſe which are to be ſupplied by this government. As I believe the other colonies muſt cauſe thoſe which they ſhall ſupply, to be built here or at Jerſey; I take the conſtruction of a ſufficient number of them in time, to be impoſſible, unleſs they will ſend workmen to our aſſiſtance.

I am, Sir, &c.

Signed

William Johnſon.

I the under-written, counſellor in the ſuperior council of Quebec, certify, the having tranſlated &c.

NUMB.

NUMBER XVI.

PROCLAMATION, *addreſſed by the Order of M. Lawrence, Governor of Acadia, to the French inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Iſthmus, and the Banks of St. John's River.*

In the KING's Name.

By Order of his Excellency Charles Lawrence, Eſquire, Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Province of Nova-Scotia or Acadia, &c.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Inhabitants and all others, Natives of Chignecto, Baie-Verte, Tintamar, Chepoudi, St. John's River, and their Appurtenances and adjacent Parts; and all others, who have not yet made their Submiſſions.

WHEREAS moſt part of the inhabitants of the above, and other places, *have not yet made their Submiſſion to the*

King of Great-Britain *; but on the contrary, have demeaned themſelves, contrary to all orders and loyalty to their proper Sovereign.

THEREFORE.

THIS is to command them to repair immediately to my Camp, in order to make their Submiſſions; bringing along with them, all their fire-arms, ſwords, ſabres, piſtols, and all other inſtruments of war: in diſobedience of which, they ſhall be treated, as Rebels, with military execution.

Given at the Camp of Chignecto, this thirteenth Day of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five.

Signed

Robert Monkton.

* This Confeſſion is remarkable. How came the inſiſting upon this Submiſſion not to be thought of ſince the Peace of Utrecht?

VOUCHERS.

SECOND PART,

NUMBER I.

A Memorial, *delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, to Sir Thomas Robinſon. January* 15, 1755.

AS, preventing, ſpeedily the conſequences that may reſult from the diſcuſſions which have happened in North-America, and the hoſtilities, with which they have been attended; is a matter of importance; the King propoſes to his Britannic Majeſty that, previous to examining into the grounds and circumſtances of the Quarrel, poſitive orders be ſent to the reſpective Governors, forbidding henceforward, all new enterpriſes or acts of violence.

Commanding them, on the contrary, to reſtore matters, without delay, with regard to the Territories towards the Ohio or Fair-River; to the ſame ſituation they were in, or ought to have been in, before the laſt war. The King further propoſes, that the reſpective pretenſions be amicably referred to the commiſſioners ſitting in Paris; ſo as the two Courts may put an end to the difference, by a ſpeedy conciliation.

The king could alſo wiſh, in order to remove all impreſſions of uneaſineſs, and to make his ſubjects enjoy in tranquillity, the ſweet fruits of peace, that his Britannic Majeſty, would pleaſe to explain himſelf openly with regard to the deſtination, and the motives of the armament which has been lately made in England.

The king has too great a reliance on the uprightneſs of his Britannic Majeſty's intentions, as to flatter himſelf with the hopes, that he will readily cloſe with propoſitions, that are ſo agreeable to the preſervation of peace, and to the maintaining the public tranquillity, and a good harmony between both our Courts.

Signed

Le Duc de Mirepoix.

NUMBER II.

Anſwer, delivered by order of the Court of England, *to the Duke de* Mirepoix. *January* 22, 1755.

THE King has ſeen, with Regret, the diſputes that have happened in North-America, and the acts of violence with which they have been attended. His Majeſty is as deſirous

deſirous as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to put an end to them. He claims nothing, but what is grounded on Treaties, and what is conformable to the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown, and the protection of his ſubjects in that country.

The King does not think the propoſitions given in by his excellency the duke de Mirepoix, anſwers this end: however, as a teſtimony of his deſire to maintain peace, and the moſt perfect union and harmony with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and that all things may be re-eſtabliſhed on an equitable footing; His Majeſty propoſes, that the poſſeſſion of the territory towards the river Ohio or Fair-river, be reſtored to the ſame ſituation it was actually in, at the concluſion of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable to the ſtipulations of the ſame treaty, renewed as it has been, by that of Aix la Chapelle: and, moreover, that the other poſſeſſions in North-America, be reſtored to the ſame ſtate they were in, at the time of concluding the ſaid treaty of Utrecht, and purſuant to the ceſſions and the ſtipulations made by that treaty. The means of inſtructing the reſpective governors, and forbidding henceforward all new encroachments, or acts of violence, may be afterwards ſettled, and the pretenſions on both ſides referred, to be ſpeedily and finally diſcuſſed and adjuſted, in an amicable manner, between both courts.

Such

Such are the King's ſentiments. The defence of his rights and poſſeſſions, and the protection of his ſubjects, have been the motives of the armament that has been ſent to North-America; which "has been effected, without any intention of offending any power whatſoever, or doing any thing that may diſturb * the general peace." We need only to conſider the nature and extent of this armament to be convinced of this truth; and the King makes no doubt but his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will, agreeable to the known uprightneſs of his intentions, explain himſelf alſo openly, with regard to the great naval force preparing at Breſt and Toulon.

Signed

Thomas Robinſon.

NUMBER III.

A Reply *to Sir* Thomas Robinſon's *Memorial, and given in by the Duke de* Mirepoix. *February* 6, 1755.

THE King is too well perſuaded of the ſincere diſpoſitions of the King of Great-Britain, to maintain a good under-

* This Formal Declaration, may be compared to the Inſtructions given by his Britannic Majeſty to General Braddock, and the plan contained in Colonel Nappier's Letter.

ſtanding

ſtanding between the two crowns, together with the general tranquillity; to entertain any doubt but that his Britannic Majeſty ſees, with ſorrow, the dangers with which both are threatened, by the differences which have taken riſe in North-America, towards the river Ohio.

It was in this light, that his Majeſty cauſed it to be propoſed by his ambaſſador at the court of London; that the two kings, (previous to the entering into any diſcuſſion relative to the grounds of the quarrel, and examining the means which may put an end to them, in an amicable manner) ſhould ſend poſitive orders to their reſpective governors in this part of America; that "they would refrain from all acts of vio-" lence, and all new enterpriſes;" and put things in the ſame ſituation they were, or ought to have been in, before the late war.

Though his Britannic Majeſty might have, on the firſt aſpect, judged, that this propoſition did not fully anſwer the end of both courts; yet we are perſuaded that he will think otherwiſe, when he pleaſes to conſider that his pretenſions, are utterly unknown to France: that ſince 1679, when the French diſcovered the Fair-river, the Engliſh never had any footing there, either directly or indirectly; and that the treaty of Utrecht, of whoſe ſtipulations the court of England ſeems to avail itſelf, has not even made the leaſt mention thereof. The way, which is propoſed

propoſed to his Britannic Majeſty, is thoroughly conformable to the engagements of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle; to the meaſures taken ſince that Æra, and, in particular, to the conditions demanded in 1750, and 1751 by England herſelf, and aſſented to, without difficulty, by his Majeſty, relative to the troubles which then aroſe concerning the limits of the frontier of Nova-Scotia and Canada.

In conſequence of theſe reaſons, and theſe engagements, his Majeſty propoſes.

1. That the two Kings do order their reſpective governors to forbear all acts of violence, and all new attempts.

2. To put things in the ſame condition that they have been in, before the late war, over all North-America, agreeable to the IXth article of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle.

3. That conformable to the XVIIIth article of the ſame treaty, his Britannic Majeſty do give directions, that the commiſſioners ſitting in Paris, be inſtructed with regard to his pretenſions and the foundation on which they are grounded.

And that the miniſters of the two courts be authoriſed to negociate, in order to find out the means of putting, amicably, an end to the difference.

The King propoſes theſe conditions to the the King of England, with that confidence which the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of them muſt inſpire. There

There is ſo much the more room for his Majeſty to hope that they will be accepted, as he is perſuaded his Britannic Majeſty is animated with the ſame ſpirit with which himſelf is actuated; towards removing all ſubjects of miſ-unſtanding and confuſion, which, by the oppoſition of intereſts, complication of objects, and the nature of the engagements and treaties may become as dangerous to the peace of the two crowns, as to that of all Europe.

As to the armament which the king prepares, the court of England may eaſily penetrate into the motives of it; ſince it is the armament with which themſelves have appriſed all Europe of, and have in part executed, that have rendered the precautions of France neceſſary. But his Majeſty declares expreſsly, "that theſe preparations have no offenſive view, * and no other object than the defence of his poſſeſſions, and the rights of his crown.

NUMBER IV.

Project *of a Preliminary Convention, propoſed by the King's Orders, to the Court of* London.

THE Diſcuſſions which have ſtarted up, ſince the peace ſigned at Aix la Chappelle,

* The two Kings have, we ſee, made the ſame Declaration. We leave Europe to judge, which of the two ſpoke ſincerely.

the 18th of October 1748, between the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and thoſe of his Britannic Majeſty, in North America, having given occaſion, on both ſides, to acts of violence; to put a ſtop to, and prevent the conſequences of which, is become a matter of extreme importance; their Majeſties animated with a common deſire of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity in this part of the new world, and to cement, more and more, the friendſhip and good underſtanding, which happily ſubſiſt between them, have reſolved to take, in concert, the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual methods, in order to attain the ſalutary end which they propoſe to themſelves: they have, accordingly, authoriſed the under-written miniſters, who are provided with the full powers neceſſary for this purpoſe, to ſettle the preliminary and proviſional conditions contained in the following articles.

Article I.

HIS moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his Britannic Majeſty engage to ſend, immediately after the Ratifications of the preſent Convention, the moſt preciſe orders to their reſpective Governors in America, to cauſe all acts of violence to ceaſe, between the two nations; and the duplicate of theſe orders ſhall be delivered, on each ſide, together with the ratifications of the preſent convention

vention, to the reſpective miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his Britannic Majeſty.

II.

The Subjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and of his Britannic Majeſty, ſhall evacuate all the country, ſituated between the river Ohio and the mountains which form the limits of Virginia: and ſhall withdraw, that is to ſay, the French beyond the ſaid river, and the Engliſh to this ſide of the ſaid mountains; ſo that all the extent of ground which lies between the ſaid river and ſaid mountains, ſhall be conſidered as a neutral country, during the whole time that this convention ſhall ſubſiſt; and all the conceſſions, if there ſhould be any ſuch made by either ſide, on the ſaid territory, ſhall be conſidered as null, and of none effect.

III.

For the better enſuring the execution of the firſt article of the preſent convention, and to prevent all occaſion of freſh troubles, the reſpective ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his Britanic Majeſty, ſhall not be allowed to frequent, ſo long as this preſent convention ſhall ſtand, the ſaid territory, ſituated between the river Ohio and the ſaid

mountains, under any pretence of trade or paſſage, which the two nations ſhall be equally forbidden during the ſame ſpace of time.

IV.

Conformable to article IX of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle, all things ſhall be reinſtated in North America, on the ſame footing they were, or ought to have been on, ſince the treaty of Utrecht; and accordingly, all the forts ſhall be demoliſhed, which, ſince that epoch, may have been built on either ſide, as well on the ſaid territory of the Ohio, as in all other parts of North America, which are a ſubject of diſpute between the two nations.

V.

The preſent preliminary convention is to take place only during two years, to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications; this ſpace of time appearing ſufficient to determine finally, by way of an amicable conciliation, all the diſcuſſions relative to North America, which hereafter may give occaſion to any new broils between the ſubjects of the two powers.

VI.

VI.

His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his Britannic Majeſty, engage themſelves to give immediately, not only to their reſpective Miniſters in London, but alſo to their commiſſaries in Paris, the inſtructions and orders neceſſary to determine amicably, as ſoon as poſſible, and at fartheſt in the ſpace of two Years, by a definitive treaty, all the differences which have ſtarted up between the ſubjects of both crowns; relative to their poſſeſſions, rights, and pretenſions in North-America.

VII.

The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by their moſt Chriſtian, and Britannic Majeſties; and the ratifications, in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in the city of London, in the ſpace of twelve days, or ſooner if poſſible, from the day of ſigning this preſent covention. In witneſs whereof, &c.

NUMBER V.

Counter-project *of a preliminary convention, in answer to the foregoing project, and delivered to the Duke* de Mirepoix *the 7th of* March 1755.

THE discussions which have (since the peace signed at Aix la Chapelle) happened in North America, between the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and of his most Christian majesty, having given occasion, on each side, contrary to the intention of their majesties, to acts of violence, the preventing the consequences of which, is of the last importance; their majesties, animated with a common desire of re-establishing quiet in that country, and cementing more, and more, the friendship and good understanding which happily subsist between them, have resolved to take, in concert, the speediest and most effectual methods, to attain the salutary end which they propose to themselves. They have accordingly authorised the underwritten ministers, who are provided with the necessary full powers for this purpose, to settle the preliminary and provisional conditions contained in the following articles.

Article I.

His Britannic majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty engage to ſend, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this preſent convention, the moſt preciſe orders to their reſpective generals and governors in America to put a ſtop to, and prevent all acts of violence between both nations; and the duplicates of theſe orders ſhall be delivered on each ſide, together with the ratifications of the preſent convention, to the miniſters, as well of his Britannic majeſty, as his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

II.

In reſpect to the river Ohio and the adjacent lands, it is covenanted and agreed, that like orders ſhall be ſent at the ſame time, along with copies of the preſent convention, to the ſaid governors and generals, to cauſe all the forts that have been conſtructed on the Preſqu-Iſle, in lake Erie, and on Ox-river, and on the Ohio, to be demoliſhed in the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if poſſible; reckoning from the day of ſigning the preſent convention.

In like manner it is agreed, between his Britannic majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that a line, beginning on the eaſtern

ſide

ſide of the Bay of Canagahoqui, on the ſouthern bank of lake Erie, ſhall be drawn directly to the ſouth until you come to the 40th degree of North latitude, and from thence continued to the ſouth-weſt until it falls in with the 37th degree of the ſaid latitude.

In like manner, a line beginning at the mouth of the river Miamis, on the ſouth ſide of lake Erie, ſhall be drawn towards the ſouth or ſouth-weſt, to the ſource of the river Wabache or of St. Jerom, and thence continued along the river to the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the Ohio; and from thence, in a ſtraight line, towards the ſouth to the abovementioned 37th degree of north latitude.

All the forts and fortreſſes that have been built, or the ſettlements that have been made by either the one or the other of the two crowns, or by their reſpective ſubjects, on the ſaid territory, ſituated between the two lines, ſhall be demoliſhed in the aboveſaid ſpace of ſix months; reckoning from the day that the preſent convention ſhall be ſigned, or ſooner if poſſible; and ſhal ſo remain demoliſhed until ſuch time as the preſent diſputes between both crowns are amicably ended: ſo that all the country, lying between the two aboveſaid lines, in its whole extent from north to ſouth, ſhall remain and be conſidered during that time as a neutral country; and no farther uſe ſhall be made of it than to carry on a trade with the natives, which ſhall be free

and

and allowed to both nations, without any hindrance or moleſtation whatſoever.

That the reſpective generals and governors of the two crowns, ſhall name in the ſpace of three months, reckoning from the day of ſigning the preſent convention or ſooner if poſſible, underſtanding perſons, who ſhall draw out and mark the ſaid lines, in the ſpace of three months more reckoning from the day of their being appointed for this purpoſe.

III.

It is moreover agreed, that the forts on the river Niagara, and fort Frederic or Crown Point, on lake Champlain, built ſince the treaty of Utrecht renewed and confirmed by that of Aix la Chappelle, ſhall be demoliſhed in the ſame ſpace of ſix months, reckoning from the day of ſigning the preſent convention; and that as to what relates to the aboveſaid river of Niagara, and the lakes of Erie, Ontario, and Champlain, it ſhall be free for the ſubjects of both crowns to paſs, aſcend and deſcend them with all ſafety, and to trade, without any hindrance or moleſtation, with the Indians inhabiting the countries ſituated round the great lakes, as well with thoſe who are the ſubjects and friends of Great Britain as ſubjects and friends of France.

IV.

It is in like mannner, covenanted and agreed, that a line ſhall be drawn from the mouth of the river Penobſcot or Pentagoet, to its ſource, and from thence in a ſtraight line northwards to the river St. Lawrence; and that from a point which ſhall be found at the diſtance of twenty leagues in a ſtraight line, from the mouth of the river Penobſcot or Pentagoet, a line ſhall be drawn acroſs the continent, to the point which ſhall be on the banks of the river St. Lawrence, to the diſtance of twenty leagues from cape Tourmentin, in a direct line.

That as to what relates to the countries and territories ſituated to the North, between both theſe lines, to the river St. Lawrence, they ſhall not be ſettled nor poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of either crowns, who ſhall not be allowed to make any farther uſe of them, than to carry on a trade there.

That all the Preſqu-Iſle and the Iſthmus, together with the Bay of Fundi or Baie Francoiſe, and in general all the lands, rivers and coaſts, ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt of the abovementioned line, which is to be drawn acroſs the ſaid continent, from the river Penobſcot or Pentagoet, to the gulph of St. Lawrence, ſhall be acknowledged and declared to belong, in all ſovereignty, and abſolute

abſolute propriety, to the crown of Great Britain.

Moreover, it is covenanted and agreed, that the reſpective generals and governors, ſhall name underſtanding perſons, in the ſpace of three months, reckoning from the day of ſigning this preſent convention, or ſooner if poſſible, who ſhall draw and mark out the ſaid lines in the ſpace of three months, reckoning from the day of their being appointed for this purpoſe.

V.

His Britannic majeſty, and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, engage to give without delay, after the ratification of the preſent convention, the neceſſary inſtructions and orders to their reſpective miniſters, to enable them to determine (between both courts by way of an amicable conciliation) as ſoon as poſſible, by a definitive treaty, all the differences which have aroſe between the ſubjects of both crowns, relative to their reſpective poſſeſſions, rights and pretenſions in America; and which are not finally determined by the preſent convention.

VI.

The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties,

and the ratifications in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of London, in the ſpace of fifteen days or ſooner, if poſſible, reckoning from the day of ſigning the preſent convention. *In* witneſs whereof, &c.

NUMBER. VI.

Extract of a letter written by M. Rouille *to the Duke* De Mirepoix, March 27, 1755.

IN order to attain the ſo deſireable end of peace, one muſt neceſſarily weigh the nature and the circumſtances of the engagements which are to be contracted, and combine the reciprocal rights and conveniences. A work of this importance will require much application and time; and what uſe ſhall one make in the mean while of the armaments which have been prepared on both ſides? how will it be poſſible to negociate with any advantage, if acts of violence continue in North America, and if they begin on the high ſeas? Will not the advantages gained by the one ſide and the other, be a motive for multiplying pretenſions and difficulties, and become freſh obſtacles to a pacification? This inconvenience ſhould therefore be prevented; and that cannot be, unleſs by giving to the reſpective governors in America, and to the commanders of the ſquadrons, ſuch uniform orders as fix invariably their operations to a bare

bare defenſive, and forbid them abſolutely all acts of offenſive hoſtility, under any pretext whatſoever.

The King will make no difficulty in communicating to the King of England the duplicates of the orders and inſtructions which his majeſty ſhall give to his governors and commanders, if his Britannic majeſty pleaſes to act towards the king with the ſame candour and confidence. What we propoſe in this reſpect is ſo conſiſtent with all the rules of equity and moderation, that we cannot conceive it poſſible for people to refuſe their concurrence therein, if peace is as ſincerely wiſhed for in London as it is at Verſailles.

The reputation of both courts demands even this precaution, ſince it were expoſing ourſelves to ſuſpicions and reproaches of the want of faith and duplicity in our proceedings, if while a negociation was carrying on in order to bring about a pacification, we ſhould authoriſe, or even appear to tolerate hoſtilities, which would contradict evidently all ideas of a reconciliation.

I have already mentioned it to you, and as truth is always the ſame, I ſhall always hold the ſame language to deſire peace ſincerely, and not to put a ſtop to acts of violence, are two things incompatible.

NUMBER VII.

Anſwer delivered by the court of London *to the Duke* de Mirepoix, April 5, 1755.

THE court of London will concur with all the eagerneſs poſſible, in concluding a definitive agreement which ſhall take in all the parts that are a ſubject of conteſt in America, between the two nations, which his Excellency the duke de Mirepoix has inſinuated to coincide with the diſpoſitions of his court.

The propoſal made by the court of France by the extract of M. Rouille's letter written the 27th of March to his excellency the duke de Mirepoix, is the ſame that has been made heretofore, and has only a ceſſation of arms between both nations for its object.

The court of London meets in this with the ſame difficulties which have offered themſelves to them from the beginning of the negociation, and cannot look upon it as a means that can favour a conciliation.

In the counter-project which the court of London gave, in anſwer to the plan of convention propoſed heretofore by France, it expoſed nothing but what appeared to belong by right, and according to treaties to the crown of Great Britain.

This court has even conſented to depart from this right in many reſpects, for the ſake of

of peace, and to ſhew its ſincere deſire to cultivate the moſt perfect friendſhip with the court of France. It is for this reaſon that the court of London did hope, from the confeſſed candour of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that his ambaſſador would have inſtructions, and be authoriſed to deliver ſpecifically the objections which the court of France might have made to this counter-project, and lay open, in an amicable manner, the demands of his court; which ſhould ſeem to be the moſt natural way, the moſt regular and the moſt conformable to the wiſhes which the court of London entertains in common with that of Verſailles, to procure, by means of the negociation already agreed on *(a)*, a ſpeedy and definitive reconciliation in regard to all the points which have been the ſubject of diſcuſſion between both nations in America.

NUMBER VIII.

Extract of a letter from M. Rouille *to the Duke* de Mirepoix, *dated* April 13, 1755, *and delivered to the miniſtry of* London.

THE King, to whom I gave an account of the deſire which his Britannic majeſty

(a) Since it was agreed to negociate, how came England, even during this time, to give orders for attacking the French in America? Why did it in Europe refuſe to give orders for the ceaſing of all hoſtilities?

has

has expreſſed to receive a ſpeedy anſwer to the memorial given you by the Chevalier Robiſon, has ordered me to ſend you back your courier without delay.

The King would fain carry his complaiſance ſtill farther, but the propoſitions of the court of London do not allow his majeſty to hope that the two courts will ſucceed in ending their differences by a juſt and becoming conciliation.

According to the court of London, the ſucceſs of our negociation depends entirely on the ceſſion which the Engliſh demand, not only of the Preſqu iſle, of which Acadia is but a part, but alſo of twenty leagues of the coaſt of Bay Francoiſe on the ſide of Canada.

This propoſition, eſpecially as to what relates to the twenty leagues of coaſt, is ſo diametrically oppoſite to our rights, our poſſeſſions, and to our moſt eſſential concerns, that we cannot poſſibly allow it.

If this ceſſion would be neceſſary, or even uſeful to the Engliſh, either in their trade with the ſavages, or their communication with Acadia and New England, we could aſcribe the demand which they make us of it to one of theſe two motives only; but their pretenſion cannot be grounded on any reaſon, or any pretext of neceſſity or utility.

The ſavages have always had a liberty to trade in the Engliſh colonies, in the ſame manner as in the French, and twenty leagues more

more will make no alteration in the ſtate of affairs in this reſpect.

As to the communication between Acadia and New England, it is abſolutely impracticable by land, not only on account of the diſtance, but likewiſe the extreme difficulty of the roads and paſſing the rivers which muſt be croſſed towards their mouth. This communication is on the contrary very ſhort and very eaſy by ſea.

To this the King cannot, or ought not to conſent, becauſe the lands ſituated along Baie Francoiſe on the ſide of Canada, is indiſpenſably neceſſary for the communication of Quebec, during part of the year, as well with Europe as the Iſle Royal and St. Johns.

The court of London propoſes, with regard to the part of Canada ſituated above Quebec and Montreal, that the river St. Laurence and the lakes Erie and Ontario ſerve as limits between the two nations.

It is on the fixation of theſe limits that meſſieurs the Engliſh miniſters pretend alſo to lay the foundation of the negociation.

The King, is ſo far from entering into any explanation on this article, that he never will conſent to his ſovereignty over the ſouthern bank of the river St. Laurence and the lakes of Ontario and Erie to be brought in queſtion, or that theſe parts, which have been always conſidered as the center, ſhould now become the limits of Canada.

The preſervation of that part of Canada, which ſhould remain to us after this ſeparation, would become, by this pretenſion of England, very chargeable if not impoſſible.

It does not appear that the court of London is willing to conſent to our making ſettlements between the Ohio and Waſbach rivers, unleſs poſſibly at the diſtance of ſome leagues on this ſide the left bank of this laſt river.

We have offered to abandon the land between the mountains of Virginia and the Ohio, and to ſuffer it to remain neutral; but we can grant nothing more, without giving up our communication between Louiſiana and Canada.

We differ in too eſſential a manner, in our intereſts and views, with regard to the capital points, which the Engliſh miniſters look upon as the neceſſary baſis of a negociation.

The court of London, in the memorial which has been delivered to you, expreſſes its hope, that you have received proper inſtructions, and are authoriſed to give in, ſpecifically, the objections which the court of France, might have made to the counter-project, and open yourſelf amicably on this ſubject.

The reaſons which have determined the King not to give an anſwer in writing to the counter-project in queſtion, ſubſiſt always the ſame; ſince all that the Engliſh miniſters have ſaid to you, ſince their delivering this

piece

piece to you, differs ſcarcely in any thing from what it contains.

Their laſt propoſitions have only ſerved to illuſtrate what could not be expreſſed in ſo clear a manner in the counter-project.

If the King of England and his miniſtry are as ſincere in their deſire of peace as we are, they muſt deſiſt in a formal manner from their pretenſion of making us abandon,

1. The ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Laurence, and the lakes whoſe waters diſcharge themſelves into this river.

2. The twenty leagues of Country which they demand on Baye Francoiſe.

3. The territory between the Ohio and Waſbach.

We are diſpoſed to enter into a negociation upon all the remainder, and even to ſacrifice part of our rights to all the conveniencies of England, wherever it may be conſiſtent with the dignity of the King and the ſecurity of his poſſeſſions.

We will gladly take in concert with the Britiſh miniſters, the moſt effectual meaſures to guard both nations in America againſt all invaſion of property, and prevent any diſpute between them.

In ſhort, we will not be averſe from making, in concert with them, ſuch arrangements as may facilitate and augment their trade; but we ſhall enter into no particulars on this ſubject, ſo long as the court of London ſhall look

upon the three articles, which we are abſolutely determined not to allow of, as a neceſſary and preliminary baſis of the negociation.

At firſt there was queſtion only of the territory of the fair river, but now their pretenſions extend to all the parts of Canada, which lie on the ſouthern ſide of the river St. Lawrence.

It was agreed to adhere to a proviſional accommodation, while a definitive treaty ſhould be laboured at afterwards, they would have no proviſionary convention, and they pretended to determine every thing at once.

We have propoſed the preventing any ulterior acts of violence, by giving orders for that purpoſe to the reſpective governors, and to the commanders of the ſquadrons; they have rejected a propoſal ſo reputable and ſo full of moderation.

NUMBER IX.

Note delivered by the court of London *to the Duke* de Mirepoix, April 24, 1755.

THE court of Great Britain ſees, with regret, that the friendly anſwer delivered to his excellency M. de Mirepoix the 5th of this month, in conſequence of a letter of M. de Rouille of the 27th of laſt month, has not been productive of ſuch inſtructions from his court as might have enabled him to enter

enter immediately on a negociation concerning the different points contained in the counter-project which had been delivered him ſo early as the 7th of March; but that on the contrary, M. de Rouille declares, in the extract of his letter of the 13th of this month, which has been communicated to Sir Thomas Robinſon by the ambaſſador of France, that France deſires the Britiſh court would, previous to any negociation, deſiſt formally from its pretenſion, and to make it abandon,

1. The ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes whoſe waters are received into that river.

2. The twenty leagues of country which they demand on Bay Francoiſe.

3. The territory between the Ohio and Wabache.

As to the firſt of theſe points M. de Rouille has made it out in a very ſhort manner, and very different from what it was intended to be underſtood by the above-mentioned counter-project *(a)*; but with regard to this point as well as the others, the Britiſh court refers itſelf, and adheres to the expoſition made of it, as being founded on the treaties and appearing abſolutely neceſſary to its ſecurity.

(a) It may be obſerved with what attention the Britiſh miniſtry feigned not to comprehend well enough the ideas of the court of France. All that was apprehended in England was, leſt the negociation ſhould break off before the execution of the plan of invaſion.

They

They are, however, diſpoſed to enter into an examination of all the conteſted points. In the courſe of this examination it may be found out in what the moſt eſſential differences between the two courts conſiſt, and the natural deſire of peace may ſtrike out the means of facilitating an accommodation.

NUMBER X.

Note, delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix *the 6th of* May 1755, *in anſwer to the foregoing.*

THE court of France is invarible in its principles of equity and moderation. It always wiſhes very ſincerely the preſervation of peace and the moſt perfect underſtanding between it and the Britiſh court, if the Duke de Mirepoix has not been authoriſed to enter into a negociation upon the three following points.

1. The ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes whoſe waters fall into this river.

2. The twenty leagues of country along Bay Francoiſe.

3. The territory between the Ohio and the Wabache.

It was ſolely becauſe the adheſion to the demands of the Britiſh court, with reſpect to theſe three points, has been always preſented

to

to the court of France as a neceſſary baſis, and the preliminary conditions of the negociation.

It was in this ſenſe that the court of France has demanded, and continues to demand, that the Britiſh court do deſiſt from its pretenſions relative to theſe three ſubjects; but the court of France is diſpoſed, as it has always been, to acquieſce, agreeable to the XVIIIth article of the treaty of Aix la Chappelle, in the examination and amicable diſcuſſion of all the points in diſpute, and in taking in concert with the Britiſh court the arrangements which ſhall be judged neceſſary, to put an end to all differences between the two nations, and ſettling affairs in America on a footing that is agreeable to the tranquillity and ſecurity of the reſpective colonies, as well for the preſent as hereafter: the court of France is very far from forming any demand that is not founded on a real right and the treaties; and as the Britiſh court declares to be animated with the ſame ſentiments, there is room to hope that the intentions ſo equitable and ſo full of moderation on both ſides, will be attended with the ſalutary effect which the two courts ought to promiſe themſelves from them, toward their common tranquillity; and the public happineſs.

NUMBER XI.

Note, delivered by the Britiſh miniſtry to the Duke de Mirepoix *the 9th of* May 1755.

THE court of Great Britain ſees, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, by the anſwer which his excellency the Duke de Mirepoix has delivered to Sir Thomas Robinſon the 6th of this month, not only that the court of France perſiſts in its reſolution for maintaining the peace, but likewiſe that its diſpoſitions are the ſame that thoſe of England have always been, and are ſtill, to enter without delay into the examination, and into an amicable diſcuſſion of all the points in diſpute.

The court of Great Britain has, during the courſe of the negociation, proceeded with ſo much candour *(a)* and confidence, that they did not heſitate to expoſe naturally their intentions and pretenſions, in order that the court of France byacting in the ſame manner, might facilitate and haſten the conciliation ſo much wiſhed for on each ſide.

(a) The value to be ſet on this word may be eaſily eſtimated, by whoever has read the above pieces.

NUMBER XII.

Memorial, *delivered by the Duke* de Mirepoix, *to the Miniſtry of* London, *May* 14, 1755.

THE Diſputes between the courts of France and England, concerning America, have for ſubject, 1. the limits of Acadia. 2. the limits of Canada. 3. the courſe of the river Ohio and its territory. 4. the Iſlands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago.

In the diſcuſſion of theſe points, the general principles to be laid down for the negociation are thoſe, and thoſe only of juſtice, the ſecurity of the reſpective colonies, and their mutual conveniences.

In all the particular diſcuſſions concerning the four objects in queſtion, theſe principles are never to be loſt ſight of. Therefore we ſhall here treat of theſe objects in a ſummary manner, one after another.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Limits of Acadia.

IF we examine into what is right and juſt, we ſhall find, that Acadia takes in only a part of the Penninſula where it is ſituated, which part extends from Cape Fourchu or

Cape Sable, to Cape Canceau. This has been evidently made out by the Memorial of the French commiſſaries dated October 4. 1751. the anſwer given to it by the Engliſh commiſſaries does not invalidate the facts, nor the proofs which it contains. It ought, therefore, to be laid down as a baſis of the negociation, that Acadia takes in only a part of the Penninſula.

But the court of France for the ſake of peace, will condeſcend, after having diſcuſſed and aſcertained its right, to the not inſiſting on it with rigour, and will agree to examine into what may concern the object in queſtion, and the reciprocal ſecurity and convenience of both. It may poſſibly alſo determine to yield to the Engliſh, the intire Penninſula, under certain conditions and reſervations, without which it neither ought, nor can agree to this ceſſion. Theſe conditions ſhall be

1. That during the ſpace of three years, all the French who inhabit the Penninſula, may have liberty to withdraw from thence with their effects, and that all manner of aſſiſtance be given them for facilitating this tranſmigration, which the Engliſh, doubtleſs, will conſider as very advantageous for themſelves.

2. That France ſhall keep the Iſthmus and Beaubaſſin, ſince ſhe cannot abſolutely abandon them without giving up at the ſame time, at leaſt, during a conſiderable part of the

the year, the communication between Quebec and the Iſle-Royale.

3. That a certain extent of land in the Penninſula, which ſhall be agreed on, ſhall be left uninhabited along the coaſt which bears on the gulph of St. Lawrence. This propoſal is not leſs favourable to the Engliſh of Acadia, than it is to the French of Iſle-Royal, and of St. John, ſince thick woods and defiles, which muſt be croſſed, will be an obſtacle equally to the enterpriſes which either of the nations would form againſt the the other.

4. That the Engliſh ſhall deſiſt from the demand which they have made of an extent of twenty leagues along Bay Francoiſe on the ſide of Canada. They having abſolutely, no ſort of right to, nor have they any real intereſt in demanding this ceſſion, which is in no way neceſſary to their commerce, and is of no ſort of uſe to their communication between Acadia and New England; whereas on the contrary, this territory is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the French for their communication with Quebec, when it becomes impracticable by the river St. Lawrence.

The court of France as a further proof of its complaiſance for England, and of its deſire to keep up with it, the moſt perfect underſtanding, may alſo, if it ſhould meet with ſentiments that are reciprocal on the part of the court of London, yield to the Eng-

liſh the country lying between the river of Sagahadoe and that of Pentagoet.

It is proved by the very title deeds of the Engliſh, and namely, the charter concerning New England, of the 7th of October, 1695, that the limits of this province extend only to Sagahadoe. The ceſſion of the conſiderable territory which lies between this river and that of Pentagoet would anſwer, nay, would exceed any reaſonable demands which the Engliſh might propoſe to themſelves.

From what has been here ſaid it reſults, that France, to preſerve peace, offers to ſacrifice her right, her actual poſſeſſion, and an intereſt that is evident and ſenſible; but ſhe will not extend this ſacrifice beyond the ceſſion of the Penninſula of Acadia, with the conditions and clauſes, of which mention has been made, and the part on the continent ſide, which extends from Sagahadoe to Pentagoet.

ARTICLE II.

Concerning the Limits of Canada.

THE Court of France has, in a decisive manner rejected, and will always reject the propoſition which has been made by England; that the ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes Ontario and Erie, ſhould ſerve as limits between the two nations.

It muſt be laid down as a baſis for the negociation in regard to this article, that the river St. Lawrence is the centre of Canada. This truth is juſtified by juſt titles, by eminent writers, and by poſſeſſion.

All that France can agree to, after laying down this principle, which cannot admit of any reaſonble contradiction, is to examine, in regard to this object, whether the reciprocal convenience of both nations may not require in this reſpect ſome particular arrangement in order to the fixing invariably, the reſpective limits.

The only pretext with which the Engliſh endeavour to gloſs over their pretenſions, is taken from article XV of the treaty of Utrecht; but if all the expreſſions contained in this article are examined into with due attention,

attention, it will evidently appear, that nothing is leſs founded than the inductions which the court of London would in fact, draw from thence.

1. There is queſtion in this article only of the perſons of the Savages, and not at all of their country, or pretended territory; becauſe they have none that is determined, and that they carry their notion of propriety no farther than the actual uſe they make of the country which they occupy to-day, and which they poſſibly may not occupy to-morrow.

2. It were abſurd to pretend that wherever a Savage who is a friend or a ſubject of one of the two crowns makes a tranſient reſidence. The country which he had then inhabited, ſhould belong to the crown whoſe friend or ſubject he is.

3. The Savages here meant, are free and independent, and there are none of them who may be called ſubjects of either crowns: what appears on the face of the treaty of Utrecht in regard to this, is faulty, and can make no alteration in the nature of things. It is certain, that no Engliſhman dare, without running the riſque of being maſſacred, tell the Iroquois, that they are ſubjects of England: theſe Savage nations are governed by themſelves, and are as much, and more the friends of France than of England; ſeveral French families are intermarried even among the Iroquois, and have dwelt among them

all

all the laſt war, during which, the five nations have obſerved the moſt ſtrict neutrality.

4. The XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht contains the ſame ſtipulations, as well in favour of the French, as in favour of the Engliſh, and theſe ſtipulations are mutual. The French might therefore ſay, with a better title than the Engliſh can urge in ſupport of their claim to the *Iroquois*, that the Abnaqui nations, and the Souriquois, otherwiſe called Micmacs, Malcutes and Cannibas, &c. are the ſubjects of France; and as there are Souriquois who inhabit the extremity of the Penninſula on the ſide of cape Fourchu and of cape Sable; it would follow that the French might pretend to form ſettlements at that place, with as much right as the Engliſh have had in making ſettlements at Oſwego, or Chouaguen, on the banks of lake Ontario, in 1726 or 1727; and of courſe a long time after the peace of Utrecht; France has not ceaſed ſince that time, to complain againſt this encroachment, and ſhe expects that the fort of Chouaguen ſhall be deſtroyed.

The treaty of Utrecht was not rightly interpreted, when it was pretended, that it authoriſed the French and Engliſh to drive a trade promiſcuouſly, among all the Savage nations, on pretence of ſubjection, alliance or friendſhip. This article, if well underſtood

ſtood and explained, provides only for the liberty of trade, which the Savages may carry on among themſelves, or among the European nations, and no ways authoriſes thoſe in going beyond the limits of their colonies, in order to carry on a trade with the Savages.

6, Laſtly, by this XVth article it is provided, that it ſhall be ſettled reſpectively, which are the American nations that ought to be deemed ſubjects or friends of the two crowns. This ſtipulation has not been executed, becauſe, in fact it is ſcarcely ſuſceptible of execution; inaſmuch, as an Indian nation which to-day are friends, may to-morrow become enemies; and therefore, the argument which might have been uſed upon this head, would have been contradicted by fact.

All we have here ſet forth, proves clearly, that if the XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht be diſcuſſed, according to the rules of juſtice and right, it will be eaſy to overturn the falſe interpretations which are given to it. Nor will it admit of greater difficulty to demonſtrate, that the Engliſh cannot be actuated by any motives of intereſt, in ſetting forth the pretenſions which they have formed. There can be no queſtion in theſe vaſt regions of America, of diſputing about a little more, or a little leſs ground. The eſſential intereſt is limitted to two objects: that of

intereſt,

ſecurity, and that of trade: the court of France will be always diſpoſed to concert in both theſe reſpects with that of London, ſuch arrangements as are equitable and ſolid, as well for the preſent as the future.

Article III.

Concerning the courſe and the territory of the Ohio.

IT is inconteſtible from the principles which agree with the titles, with juſtice, with the law of convenience and the mutual ſecurity, that the Ohio ought to make part of the poſſeſſions of France. The Engliſh have no ſettlements upon this river, and when the Britiſh miniſters maintained this propoſition: that the ſources of this river are full of antient ſettlements of their nation; it was plain, they had truſted too much to falſe relations. The French have always looked upon this river as dependent of Canada, and it is eſſential to her, in order to the communication of Canada with Louiſiana; they have frequented it in all times, and in numbers. It was even by this river, that they ſent the detachment of troops which were ſent to the Louiſiana, about the year 1739, on the occaſion of the war of the Chicachas.

Had there been Engliſh ſettlements then on that river, and had it been a part of the Brittiſh colonies, would the French have been ſuffered to deſcend its whole courſe; or would not the court of London have at leaſt made complaints of it? but at that time there was no queſtion or the leaſt mention made, of the pretenſion which has been raiſed up ſince; without proof, without title, and without any ſort of foundation.

It is true that in latter years, ſome Engliſh traders have paſſed the mountains of Virginia, and have ventured to carry on a furr-trade towards the Ohio with the Savages. The French governors of Canada contented themſelves at firſt, with ſendihg them word that they were on the territory of France, and forbidding them to return on pain of having their goods ſeiſed and themſelves made priſoners: they returned notwithſtanding, and their goods have been confiſcated and ſold, their perſons ſeiſed and conducted to Quebec, from thence to France, where they have been detained in the priſons of Rochelle: no claim, no complaint was made on this occaſion, by the court of London; they have been conſidered only as ſmugglers, whoſe deſire of gain, had expoſed them to the riſque attending an illicit trade.

Having thus aſcertained, and with ſo much ſolidity, the right and poſeſſion of the French on the Ohio and its territory, their being ſatisfied

tisfied to ſtipulate, that all the territory between the Ohio and the mountains, which border Virginia, ſhall remain neutral, and that all trade and paſſage through it ſhall be interdicted as well to the French as to the Engliſh, ought to be conſidered as a very ſenſible proof of their love of peace.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the Conteſted Iſlands.

THESE Iſlands are thoſe of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago; We venture to affirm, that the commiſſaries of France have demonſtrated in the cleareſt manner, that the iſland of St. Lucia belongs to the king their maſter, and that thoſe of St. Vincent and Dominica, ought to belong to the Savages or Caribbees under the protec- of his majeſty.

The commiſſaries have made no memorial relative to Tobago, but the lawfulneſs of the rights of France to this iſland, is not the leſs demonſtrable: ſo that the court of France, at the ſame time that it prevails on itſelf to make in favour of England; the ſacrifices which have been mentioned in this memorial, ought to require, that its right of propriety to St. Lucia and Tobago be

acknowledged, and that the iſlands of St. Vincent and Dominico do remain to the Savages or Caribbees, under the protection of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

Signed

The Duke de Mirepoix.

NUMBER XIII.

Memorial, *delivered the 7th of June* 1755, *by the Miniſtry of* London, *in anſwer to the foregoing, on the four Points to be diſcuſſed, relating to America.*

1. *The Limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia.*
2. *The Limits of Canada.*
3. *The Courſe and the Territory of the Ohio.*
4. *The Iſlands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago.*

THE Court of Great-Britain lays down as general principles of the negociation, thoſe of right and juſtice; but it cannot allow (properly ſpeaking) that of convenience, to be one of theſe; as it is not to be admitted excepting it be for the ſake of peace, and in order to preſerve a good harmony, which is ſo much wiſhed for, between both courts.

They

They ought therefore to diſpoſe themſelves equally to depart, in certain caſes, from what might appear an abſolute right, when it can be done with ſafety. The court of Great-Britain, is ready to give proof of its good diſpoſition on this occaſion, whenever it is conſiſtent with prudence, and its ſafety; upon the preſumption that it will meet with the ſame good intentions on the part of France.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Limits of Acadia.

WHatever reaſon France may have to imagine that Acadia ought to be limitted to this part of the Penninſula which extends from cape Fourchu, or from cape Sable to cape Canſeau, grounded upon what is alledged in the Memorials of its commiſſaries of the 4th of October, 1751; it were to be wiſhed that a greater attention had been paid to the reply made to that memorial, and given in by the Engliſh commiſſaries above two years ago.

To this, France makes no other anſwer *

* An Anſwer has been made ſince to this Reply, by a Memorial which is to be ſoon publiſhed. The proceedings of the Engliſh might have diſpenſed (the Commiſſaries of his Majeſty) with this labour: but France owes to its own Glory, the care which ſhe takes to expoſe, to the eyes of the Univerſe, both the juſtice of her Rights, and the regularity of her Steps.

than

than by affirming that " this reply overturns " neither the facts nor the proofs contained " in the French memorial; and that there- " fore, it ſhould be laid down as a baſis of " the negociation, that Acadia compoſes only " a part of the Peninſula:" however, this appears to the court of Great-Britain to be clearly and ſolidly proved in this reply, viz. that the ancient limits of Acadia or Nova-Scotia, (and the queſtion turns here, on thoſe ancient limits) extend on the weſt towards New England by Penobſcot river, otherwiſe called Pentagoet; that is to ſay, beginning at its mouth, and from thence drawing a ſtraight line on the north ſide to the river St. Lawrence, or the great river of Canada; at the north by the ſaid river St. Lawrence, along its ſouthern bank to cape Roſiers ſituated at its entrance; eaſtwards by the great gulph of St. Lawrence from the ſaid cape Roſiers; on the ſouth-eaſt by the Raccaloo iſlands to cape Breton, leaving theſe iſlands to the right, and the gulph of St. Lawrence and Newfoundland, with the iſlands belonging thereto, on the left, to the cape or promontory called cape Breton; on the ſouth by the great Atlantic ocean, drawing towards the ſouth-weſt from the ſaid cape Breton by cape Sable, taking in the iſlands of the ſame name round the bay of Fundi, which aſcend towards the eaſt into the country, to the mouth of the ſaid river Penobſcot or Pentagoet.

So

So eſſential a difference with regard to limits claimed as a matter of right by both ſides, has already diſpoſed the court of Great Britain, for the ſake of peace, not to inſiſt rigorouſly, on what belongs to it; but to propoſe that two lines being drawn, the one, from the mouth of the river Penobſcot or Pentagoet, to its ſource, and thence in a direct line northwards to the river St. Lawrence, the other from a certain point on the ſaid river of Pentagoet, at twenty leagues diſtance from its mouth acroſs the continent, to the point on the gulph of St. Lawrence, which will be at twenty leagues diſtance from cape Tourmantin, the whole of the Penninſula, the Iſthmus, the Bay of Fundy, and in general all the countries, rivers and coaſts, ſituated to the ſouth-eaſt of the aboveſaid laſt line, ſhall belong in full ſovereignty to the crown of Great Britain; that with regard to the country ſituated to the north-weſt between the two aboveſaid lines, to the river St. Lawrence, ſhall not be poſſeſſed nor inhabited by the ſubjects of either one power or the other.

The court of Great Britain imagines that this propoſition will fullfill perfectly, the object of ſecurity and reciprocal convenience; but on the other hand it ſees with regret, how much the conditions, and the reſerves under which France pretends to leave the poſſeſſion of the Penninſula to Great Britain,

are ſubject to obſtacles and unſurmountable objections, ſo as to render the poſſeſſion of this Penninſula totally uſeleſs.

1. With regard to the propoſition of granting the ſpace of three years to all the French who inhabit the Penninſula, in order to withdraw from thence with their effects; it were depriving England of a very conſiderable number of uſeful ſubjects; ſhould ſuch a tranſmigration extend to the French who were ſettled there at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, and to their deſcendants.

By the fourteenth article of this treaty, the inhabitants have had, it is true, the liberty to retire with their moveables; but this time being expired theſe forty years, there is not the leaſt reaſon for ſuch a right to ſubſiſt at preſent, and it muſt be ſuppoſed that * thoſe who have been willing to remain under the dominion of Great Britain, as well as their deſcendants born in the country, would not leave without much reluctance, their ſettlements, though even it were poſſible that the king of Great Britain could conſent to ſo diſadvantageous a propoſiton.

* Theſe Inhabitants did not withdraw then, becauſe they did not take it, that the country which they inhabited was comprehended in the ceſſion; and the Engiſh themſelves formed the ſame judgment, as appears from their not compelling them to acknowledge the King of England for their Sovereign.

Whatever

2. Whatever deſire France may have to poſſeſs the Iſthmus and Beaubaſſin, as the only communication during a conſiderable part of the year between Quebec and Iſle-Royal, Great Britain cannot conſent thereto, without giving up the moſt eſſential ſecurity for the remainder of the Penninſula, of which the whole might as well be given up, as to leave the Key thereof to another.

3. The ſame difficulty occurs with regard to the propoſal of leaving in the Penninſula, a certain extent of ground which ſhall not be inhabited, along the coaſt which commands the gulph of St. Lawrence: To Great Britain it appears, that very thick woods and defiles to be croſſed, would tend more to favour the deſigns which one power may have for another, than to obſtruct them.

4. It is in conſequence of ſuch reflections, that Great Britain for her own ſecurity, is ſtill under a neceſſity of inſiſting that ſhe ſhall have a certain ſkirt of land as may be agreed on, along the northern coaſt of the bay of Fundy to the gulph of St. Lawrence, without which, the poſſeſſion of the Penninſula and of the bay of Fundy, would be entirely precarious.

So that, on whatever ſide we view the conditions and reſervations of France, Great-Britain can conſider them only as ſo many ſeeds of new diſſentions. To leave the bay of

Fundy in common, were the moſt certain means of interrupting the happy harmony ſo much wiſhed for on both ſides. Hitherto 'it has been ſufficiently demonſtrated by ex-'perience,' even by the confeſſion of France, according to the memorial of M. de Torci, of the 10th of June 1712, 'that it is im-'poſſible to preſerve ſuch an union in the 'places that are held in common by the French and Engliſh.' Which may be ſaid with equal truth of a Bay which is ſo narrow as that in queſtion: France has been hitherto contented with the Iſle Royal, in order to ſecure herſelf the entrance of the river St. Lawrence; and it was owing to the ſame reaſons that the Engliſh who were to be the poſſeſſors of Acadia and Newfoundland, by the treaty of Utrecht, renounced their pretenſions to the farther poſſeſſion of the Iſland of cape Breton in common with the French.

II.

Of the Limits of Canada.

IT will be difficult to form to one's ſelf a preciſe Idea, of what in the memorial is called the centre of Canada; we can ſtill leſs admit, for a baſis of the negociation, that the river St. Lawrence be the centre of this province:

vince: this is advanced without any proof, and it is impoſſible, that the courſe of a river of this extent could form the centre of any country. Moreover, Great Britain cannot ſubſcribe to this propoſition, viz. that the country between the northern coaſt of the bay of Fundy, and the ſouthern bank of the river St. Lawrence, (which Great Britain has offered already ſhould remain neutral, without being poſſeſſed by either nation, and except the ſkirt of land which is propoſed to be drawn out of it) ought to be conſidered, or has ever been conſidered as a part of Canada, ſince the contrary has been demonſtrated by authentic proofs.

Neither can Great Britain allow, that France has a right to the lakes Ontario and Erie, or to the river Niagara, and the navigation of theſe waters excluſively; it being evident from inconteſtible facts, that the ſubjects of Great Britain and France, as well as the five Iroquois nations, have made uſe of the navigation of theſe lakes and rivers wihout diſtinction, as often as their occaſions and convenience required it. But as to a part of the country ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, excluſive of what has been already propoſed to be left neutral, whoſe limits are diſputed between both nations, or their reſpective colonies: The court of Great Britain is ready to

enter into a * Diſcuſſion on this ſubject, and and to fix the limits thereof by an ' amicable negociation,' but however without prejudicing the rights and poſſeſſions of any of theſe five nations.

As to the expoſition which is made in the French memorial of the XVth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the court of Great Britain does not think it can have any foundation, either by the words or the intention of this treaty.

1. The court of Great Britain cannot allow of this article relating only to the perſon of the Savages, and not their country: the words of this treaty are clear and preciſe, that is to ſay; " that the five *Indian* nations or cantons, are ſubject to the dominion of Great Britain," which by the received expoſition of all the treaties, muſt relate to the country as well as to the perſon of the inhabitants; it is what France has acknowledged in the moſt ſolemn manner; ſhe had well weighed the importance of this acknowledgement at the time of ſigning this treaty, and Great Britain

* Always a Seed of future Diſcuſſions and Negociations! While at this very time, Fire and Sword were carrying into the French habitations in America. Nothing now was expected at London but the Exploits of M. Braddock; and had the Orders given by his Britannic Majeſty, been crowned with all the Succeſs that was expected, the French priſoners would have been already on board M. Keppel's Veſſels on their return to France.

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can never give it up. The countries poſſeſſed by theſe Indians are very well known, and are not at all ſo undetermined as it is pretended in the memorial; they poſſeſs and make them over as other proprietors do in all other places.

2. Great Britain has never pretended that the country wherein an Indian might make a tranſient reſidence, belonged to the crown whoſe friend or ſubject he ſhould be.

3. However free and independent the Savages in queſtion may be (which is 'a point the court of Great Britain will not diſcuſs' *) they cannot be conſidered otherwiſe than ſubjects of Great Britain, and treated as ſuch by France in particular; ſince ſhe has ſolemnly engaged by the treaty of Utrecht, renewed and confirmed in the beſt manner by that of Aix la Chapelle, to conſider them as ſuch; the nature of things is not changed § by the treaty of Utrecht. The ſame people; the ſame country, always exiſt: but the acknowledgement made by France of the ſubjection of the Iroquois to Great Britain, is an everlaſting proof of her right in this reſpect, which can never be diſputed by France.

* They are right in that: However, this point is deciſive. For if the Savages are Independent, it follows that they are not ſubjects of England.

§. They mean, doubtleſs, to ſay (ſince).

4. It

4. It is true, the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht contains the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the French, as it does in favour of the Engliſh, with regard to ſuch Indian nations as ſhould, after the concluſion of this treaty, be by the commiſſaries deemed to be ſubjects of Great Britain or France; but as to what regards the five *I*roquois nations, or cantons above-mentioned, France has diſtinctly, and ſpecifically declared by the ſaid fifteenth article, that they are ſubject to Great Britain: *Magnæ Britanniæ imperio Subjecti*; and conſequently, this point can admit of no farther diſpute.

5. In whatever ſenſe the treaty of Utrecht may be underſtood, with reſpect to the trade which the Engliſh and French ſhall be allowed to carry on indiſtinctly with the Savage nations; it is notwithſtanding very certain, that ſuch a general trade is not at all forbidden by this treaty. It is a common and natural right which people have, to go and negociate among their ſubjects, * allies or friends; but to come with an armed force on the lands belonging to the ſubjects or allies of another crown, and there to build forts, ſtrip

* This is ſtill begging the Queſtion. The Iroquois are eternally ſuppoſed to be the ſubjects of England. They are at this time their enemies; *facto Jure*, they have been always free: We need only to caſt our eyes on the ſpeeches of M. Johnſon, and M. Waſhington, as a Proof of this.

them

them of their territories, appropiate them to one's ſelf; this is what is not, what cannot be authoriſed by any pretenſion, not even by the moſt uncertain one of all, viz. conveniency: ſuch are notwithſtanding, the forts of Frederic, Niagara, the Preſqu-Iſle, Ox-river, and all thoſe which have been built on the Ohio, and on the adjacent lands.

Whatever pretext might be alledged by France, in conſidering theſe conntries as the appurtenances of Canada; it is a certain truth that they have belonged, and (as they have not been given up or made over to the Engliſh) belong ſtill to the ſame Indian nations, which by the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, France agreed not to moleſt, *nullo in poſterum impedimento aut moleſtia afficiant.* *

6. It has been already proved that France has, by the expreſs words of the ſaid treaty, fully and abſolutely acknowledged the Iroquois as ſubjects of Great Britain. It would

* What? The Engliſh go to war for the Iroquois on whoſe heads they have ſet a price, and whom they conſider this time as their enemies! If theſe countries never ceaſed to belong to the Savages, why do they now diſturb all Europe, in order to render theſe Indians a ſervice which they do not demand, and at which they are even offended. We might ſay to the Engliſh, Why do you not abandon the Iroquois who abandon you? Was it neceſſary that M. Braddock ſhould loſe his life to ſerve ſuch friends: it is true, the Savages themſelves do not look on the zeal of the Engliſh as a diſintereſted inſtance of Friendſhip.

not

not be a matter of ſuch difficulty as is pretended in the memorial, to come to an agreement with regard to the other Indians, if while ſo many commiſſions were made out in order to regulate this point, there had been a mutual diſpoſition to come to a concluſion; the acts of theſe commiſſions have abundantly ſhewn the true reaſons which have prevented the execution of the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, without having recourſe to an imaginary ſuppoſition, as if the treaty could not be carried into execution; ſuch a ſuppoſition is evidently overturned by the treaty itſelf, with regard to the Iroquois nations.

III

Of the Courſe and the Territory of the Ohio.

NOTwithſtanding all that has been advanced in this article, the court of Great Britain cannot agree to France's having the leaſt title to the river Ohio and the territory in queſtion; even that of poſſeſſion is not, nor can it be alledged on this occaſion; ſince France cannot pretend to have had any ſuch before the treaty of Aix la Chapelle nor ſince, unleſs it be that of certain forts unjuſtly erected, lately on lands which evi-

dently

dently belong to the five nations, * or which theſe have made over to the crown of Great Britain or its ſubjects: as may be proved by treaties † and acts of the greateſt authenticity. The title on which France inſiſts the moſt, ariſes from her having made uſe of this river as a communication between Canada and Louiſiana; but in fact, ſhe made no ſuch uſe of it unleſs occaſionally or clandeſtinely, as might poſſibly have happened in a country of ſuch extent, without being obſerved; which cannot however give the leaſt colour of a right thereto. The rivers of the Micmacs and Wabache are thoſe which have ſerved, and that only within theſe few years, as a communication between Canada and Louiſiana; not that Great Britain can allow that France has any right even to theſe, much leſs ſtill to a paſſage ſo near her neighbourhood as that of the river Ohio. As to the uſe which has been made of this laſt river, on the occaſion of the war with the Chicachas, (allies and friends of Great-Britain) although Great-Britain did not complain of it in a formal manner, it does not follow that a violence committed in certain delicate and critical moments, can ſerve as a foundation to new encroachments. The ſame may be ſaid of the raſh and inconſiderate proceedings of

* Every where, the Engliſh alledge nothing but the intereſts or the right of the five nation.

† England will perhaps at laſt, cauſe theſe treaties to be printed,

the governor of a diſtant colony, who ſhould forbid the Engliſh to paſs the mountains of Virginia, on pain of ſeizing their goods, and being themſelves made priſoners. The manner in which the court of Great-Britain has claimed theſe priſoners and their effects, has been ſufficiently made known by the memorial which the late Eatl of Albemarle preſented the 7th of March 1752 *(a)* to the court of France. What the Court of Great-Britain maintained, what it inſiſts upon, is, that the five nations of the Iroquois acknowledged by France to be ſubjects of Great-Britain, are by origin *(b)* or by right of conqueſt, the lawful proprietors of the river Ohio, and the territory in queſtion; and as to the territory which has been yielded and made over by this people to Great-Britain (which it cannot but be owned, muſt be the moſt juſt and lawful manner of making an acquiſition of this ſort) ſhe reclaims it as belonging to her, having continued cultivating it for above twenty years paſt, and having made ſettlements in ſeveral parts of it, from the ſources even of the Ohio to Pecko-Williams, in the center of the territory ſituated between the Ohio and the Wabache.

(a) This memorial was never delivered to the court of France.

(b) Why not ſpecify ſomething more preciſe? the Iroquois will very ſoon, on account of their origin, give the Engliſh an univerſal title over all America.

But

But notwithſtanding ſuch clear and evident facts, the court of Great-Britain, for the ſake of peace, and in order to preſerve a good harmony between the two crowns, has propoſed, to prevent all future diſputes, to let that extent of ground in thoſe Parts, remain neutral and uncultivated, in the manner that it has been already expoſed to the court of France, and the preciſe extent of which Great-Britain is ready to limit and adjuſt by an amicable negociation.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the iſlands in diſpute.

THough the court of Great-Britain can, no ways, acquieſce in the arguments alledged in the laſt memorial of the French commiſſaries, with regard to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's right to the iſland of St. Lucia, yet we think it unneceſſary to enter at preſent into ſo minute a detail as this ſubject would require, and which can not in fact be compriſed within the bounds of an anſwer, to the laſt memorial of the court of France.

We were employed in preparing an ample reply on this ſubject, as alſo on that of the diſpute concerning the iſlands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago: but the court of Great-Britain being diſpoſed to enter into the diſcuſſion

of the diſputes relative to theſe four iſlands in the courſe of this negociation, is inclinable to come to a reaſonable and amicable *(c)* accommodation, in full expectation of meeting with the like diſpoſitions in the court of France.

Signed

T. ROBINSON.

NUMBER XIV.

Relation of the battle fought by the ſhips the Alcide, *commanded by M.* Hocquart, *and the* Lys, *commanded by M.* de Lorgerie, *taken (a) by Mr.* Boſcawen's *ſquadron compoſed of eleven ſhips. By one of the officers embarked on board the* Alcide.

IN 45 degrees 27 minutes north latitude, and 53 degrees 49 minutes longitude weſt from Paris, the 7th of June, at ſix in the

(c) See in the following piece the pledge of this reaſonable accommodation.

(d) There was the leſs reaſon to expect ſuch an event, as the Duke de Mirepoix having had advice, in the month of May 1755, that admiral Boſcawen had orders of an offenſive nature, meſſrs. the Lord High Chancellor of England, the Duke of Newcaſtle, Earl Granville, and Sir Thomas Robinſon, to whom this ambaſſador imparted the Advice which was given him, aſſured him poſitively, that it was abſolutely falſe.

evening,

evening, the ſignals were made of eleven ſhips, which were perceived from the maſt-heads. They lay to the eaſt-north-eaſt, and were about ſix leagues diſtant from us. M. Hocquart made the ſignal to the Lys and the Dauphin Royal to crowd their ſails, in order to endeavour to reconnoitre this ſquadron before night, thinking it might be our own, from which we had been ſeparated for ſeveral days; the wind fell at once, and the calm coming on at midnight, we lay to.

The 8th, at day-break, we found ourſelves to leeward of this ſquadron at the diſtance of about three leagues; M. Hocquart cauſed the private ſignals to be made; but theſe veſſels crowding all their ſails, and making no anſwer, we put up all ours; the Lys and the Dauphin Royal were ſoon a-head of us, the Engliſh veſſels were viſibly gaining ground on us. M. Hocquart gave orders to make ready for fighting: the ſquadron being now within cannon-ſhot and half, we hoiſted our flag and the ſtreamer, which was followed by a cannon-ſhot with powder. Upon this, the Engliſh veſſels hoiſted their flags and ſtreamers; the general ſet up a red flag on his fore-top-maſt.

Between ten and eleven in the morning the Dunkirk, a ſhip of 60 guns, was within hearing. M. Hocquart deſired meſſrs. de Roſtaing, a colonel of foot, de Rigaud, governor of the three rivers in Canada, de

Crancé,

Crancé, commiſſary of war, d'Halincour and de Semerville, to hearken to the converſation in order to be able to make a report of it. He cauſed it to be cried out three times in Engliſh, "Are we in peace or at war?" The anſwer was, "We don't underſtand you." The ſame queſtion was repeated in French; the ſame anſwer. M. Hocquart made it then himſelf; the Captain anſwered twice and very diſtinctly, "Peace, peace" M. Hocquart added, "What is the name of the Admiral?" "Admiral Boſcawen," replies the Engliſhman. ſays M. Hocquart: "I know him, he is a friend of mine." To which the Engliſhman replied, "You, ſir! what is your name?" "Hocquart." The time of uttering theſe words was the only interval between the word peace and the broadſide, which declared war to us: we were then within half piſtol-ſhot, the guns of the enemy were loaded with double balls and old iron of all ſorts; that, together with the confidence which the word Peace uttered by, and coming from the mouth of a Captain, was the occaſion of our loſing a great number of men. Our fire ſuffered however no delay by this; we remained ſome time with our bowſprit acroſs this ſhip, continuing a very hot fire of our cannons and ſmall arms, which was directed on four or five veſſels which were firing on us, among which were the Admiral and Rear Admiral: but what could we hope in the ſituation we were in? having

our

our riggings in pieces, our ſails full of ſhot, the fore-top-maſt ready to come down, the main-maſt pierced by two cannon-balls, our yard-arm ſhot in two, our main and top-gallant-maſts injured, pieces of cannon diſmounted, eighty men lying killed, wounded or maimed on the decks, of the number of whom were four officers; meſſrs. Roſtaing, de l'Aubepin, Monfermeil, and ſeveral officers wounded; M. Hocquart determined at laſt ſurrender himſelf to the Admiral.

At two in the afternoon the Lys, having been neared by the Defiance, for a long time made a running fight of it, but the Fougueux coming up, ſhe was put between two fires. This ſhip could make but a weak reſiſtance againſt theſe attacks, conſidering the ſmall number of cannon which ſhe mounted; this obliged M. de Lorgerie, after making all the reſiſtance poſſible, to ſtrike the King's flag.

As to the Dauphin Royal, her being a prime ſailer, procured M. de Montalais the ſatisfaction of carrying her into Louiſbourg with the troops with which he was entruſted. Here he was informed of the taking of our two ſhips, by which a diſcovery was made of the deſigns of the Engliſh.

F I N I S.